

# The Horsley's of Northumberland and Yorkshire

## Family History from 1181 to 1700

with Appendix

Norfolk Horsley clergymen and Horsley Curties, author and Yeoman of the Guard

*It 'has hitherto baffled my endeavours to give their pedigree  
in the long and unbroken line of descent*

*into which I once expected it would have easily resolved'*

*John Hodgson, Northumberland clergyman and historian, 1832<sup>(1)</sup>*

*Some alternative name spellings:*

Horfeley, Horsel; Horselay, Horsele; Horseley; Horseleye; Horsely; Horsle; Horslee; Horsseley, Horsselys, Horssley, Horsly, Orseleye

*Alternative place spellings:*

### **Northumberland:**

Aldenscheles or Aldensheeles, in upper Coquetdale, west of Alwinton

Bradley, Bradley with le Beye, near Crawcrook

Burradon (Burraden/Borowden/Burrowden), in Coquetdale, north east of Alwinton

Coldtown, south of Otterburn, Redesdale

Horsley - now Longhorsley

Framlington - now Longframlington

Linbriggs, Linnbriggs, Linsheels, in upper Coquetdale, west of Alwinton

Ulchester - now Outchester, near Bamburgh

Scranewod, Scranwood, Screnwood, Scrimwood - now Scrainwood

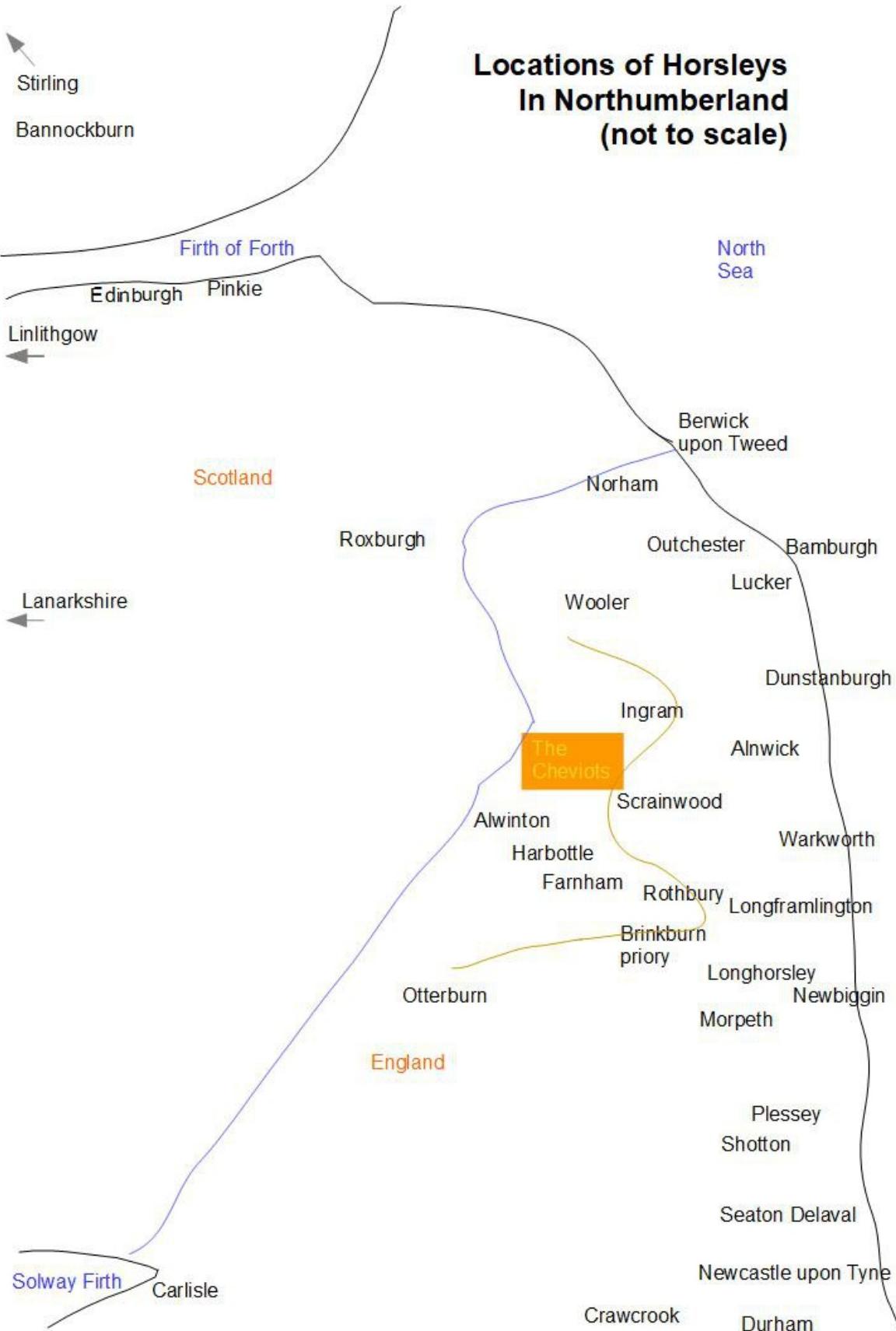
Thernham - now Farnham, in the parish of Alwinton

Togston/Toggesden, south of Warkworth

Le Whitewom, Whitchome, Whitwhom, Whytewham (location unknown)

Wodehorn, now Woodhorn, near Newbiggin

## **Locations of Horsleys In Northumberland (not to scale)**



Around 1181 Simon de Horsley held the freehold 'socage' of half a carucate of land in Alnwick from William de Vesci.<sup>(2)</sup> A carucate was the amount of land a team of eight oxen could plough in a season and was about 120 acres, depending on the ground. Simon would have had to give Lord Vesci an agreed sum of money or agricultural goods and services. Probably before 1207 and the start of King Henry III of England's reign, Roger de Horsley witnessed an undated deed by which Roger de Merlay, Lord of Morpeth conveyed land in Horsley (now Longhorsley), nearby Todburn and Sheles to Adam de Plessto.<sup>(3)</sup> Between 1226 and 1253 William de Vesci confirmed the early grant of land in Alnwick to the descendants of Simon de Horsley.<sup>(2)</sup> Ralph de Horsley was among the tenants of Framlington (now Longframlington) who in 1231 defended their rights to common pasture in a court case brought by Alan, prior of the nearby Brinkburn monastery.<sup>(4)</sup> Longframlington was on a route between England and Scotland.

Roger de Horsley was a juror in 1244 at the inquest after the death of Gilbert de Umfraville (Umfreville), the Scottish Earl of Angus.<sup>(1)</sup> Umfraville was also the Lord of Redesdale and Prudhoe in Northumberland, England.<sup>(5)</sup> Roger often witnessed deeds for Roger de Merlay, Lord of Morpeth relating to Plessey and Shotton.<sup>(1)</sup> William de Horsley was involved in an enquiry about what property Roger de Mauduit held in 1244.<sup>(4)</sup> William held Longhorsley in 1247.<sup>(4)</sup> On 11 April 1247 Simon de Horsley was involved in the enquiry about what property Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, Scotland held from King Henry of England in Northumberland.<sup>(4)</sup>

About 1272 Roger de Horsley held 25 acres for 1 mark (13s 4d, two thirds of a pound, £) at Caistron, near Rothbury from Lord Greystoke.<sup>(6)</sup> In 1278 William and Richard de Horsley each held property valued at one knight's fee, so were among the Northumberland men ordered by Edward I, King of England to provide military service as a knight or be fined. William also had to provide surety that Roger Mauduit would serve.<sup>(7)</sup> Simon de Plesctis (Plessctis), Thomas de Clennell (Clenhill), Radus de Essington and Walerus de Hereford provided surety for Richard.<sup>(1)</sup> Richard joined King Edward's forces at Rhuddlan, north Wales on Sunday, 2 August 1282.<sup>(7)</sup>

Richard de Horsley was a free tenant of the Umfravilles, Lords of Redesdale. He had 20 librates of land in Northumberland, probably around Thernham (now Farnham), by the river Coquet, near Hepple. A librate of land had the value of £1 a year. Richard's coat of arms was silver three pierced cinquefoils sable (black)<sup>(8)</sup>; possibly based on the arms of his family's Lords, the Umfravilles<sup>(1)</sup>.

In 1284 Richard of Thernham purchased a house (messuage) with three acres of land in Alwinton.<sup>(9)</sup> Alwinton is in upper Coquetdale, where the rivers Alwin and Coquet meet on the southern edge of the Cheviot hills. Richard was ordered by the grand assize court to appear at York in June 1294 in a dispute between the Crown and the master of the leper hospital of St Lazarus at Burton (now Burton Lazars, near Melton Mowbray). Horsley did not appear at court. Thomas 'the Prestur' (priest) and Roger Crawe of Thernham were Horsley's guarantors.<sup>(1)</sup>

In 1296 Adam de Horsley was assessed to pay the subsidy tax at Longhorsley, whilst his wife, Alice, was assessed at Stanton.<sup>(10)</sup> King Edward of England invaded Scotland and captured Berwick upon Tweed. On 28 August Richard de Horsley submitted to Edward at Berwick for land Richard held in Lanarkshire, Scotland from Scottish nobles (possibly Robert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus). Richard was chosen to represent Northumberland at King Edward's Parliaments held at Berwick in 1299 (possibly 1296)<sup>(11)</sup>, London in March 1300 and Lincoln in January 1301.<sup>(7)</sup>

John and his father, Richard de Horsley, witnessed deeds for Roger de Merlay in 1301 and 1303 for property in Plessey, near Morpeth.<sup>(1)</sup> On 21 November 1301 Richard and Thomas de Clennell were told by King Edward's council to select 1,300 foot men from Northumberland and march them to Linlithgow, Scotland, by the morrow of St. Lucy the Virgin (probably 13 December).<sup>(6)</sup> Edward was using Linlithgow as his winter base in Scotland and Richard attended Parliament. Richard also served at Edward's Parliament in London in 1305 and the King's final Parliament held near Carlisle in January 1307.<sup>(7)</sup>

In 1303 King Edward I granted Richard de Horsley a licence to enclose and make two of his woods at Alwinton into parks and one at Thernham.<sup>(1)</sup> Richard was granted free warren in 1306, so could keep cattle and hunt certain birds and animals in specified areas.<sup>(6)</sup> These are thought to include Alwinton<sup>(1)</sup> and parkland around Thernham tower<sup>(11)</sup> which Richard held in 1318.<sup>(6)</sup> Thernham is recognised as historic site (map grid reference NT9687002430, Historic England monument number 1817).<sup>(12)</sup>

On 3 July 1304 the Abbot of Newminster, near Morpeth complained that Richard's son, John de Horsley of Thernham and some other men 'impounded the beasts from his ploughs' and chased others with dogs as far as Harbottle.<sup>(13)</sup> King Edward is said to have granted John the manor of Ulchester (now Outchester) and all Waren lake, near Bamburgh including the hunting and salt and fresh water rights. The manor was beside the 'ocean upon the east and north parts'.<sup>(14)</sup> The Horsleys of Ulchester's coat of arms was gules three horses' heads silver bridled gules.<sup>(8)</sup>

Between 1308 - 1317 Richard de Horsley also held property at Linbriggs (Linnbriggs/Linsheels) and Aldensheele, in the upper Coquetdale river valley.<sup>(6)</sup> Linbriggs is about 590 feet above sea level, where the Coquet river flows down from the Cheviot hills through a steep sided ravine. It is near the ancient Clennell Street track which comes east from Morpeth, then up the Cheviots to the England/Scotland border and meets the Dere Street Roman road from York to Scotland. Linbriggs is also recognised as historic site (map grid reference NT8920006260, Historic England monument number 163).<sup>(15)</sup> The remote route was used by soldiers during the frequent wars between England and Scotland, as well as traders and drovers. Bands of raiders, thieves and cattle rustlers, known as border reivers, used the area to pass unseen. Local residents often constructed fortified, fire proof, stone dwellings, known as pele towers, with secure stock enclosures.

On 6 July 1309 Richard de Horsley<sup>(16)</sup>, Sheriff of Northumberland witnessed a property claim. On 5 August King Edward II ordered the Sheriff of Northumberland, Richard de Horsley and William Felton to arrange for forty armed men to be at Newcastle upon Tyne on 3 October ready to go Berwick and fight the Scots<sup>(17)</sup>. The muster was however called off. Richard was a justice in Redesdale in 1310 and witnessed deeds for Plessey in 1309 and 1317.<sup>(1)</sup> On 2 October 1311 Nicholas le Scott, Mayor of Newcastle and Gilbert Hawkin, clerk ordered William Rybaud of Howick to pay 'Sir Richard de Horsley, lately Sheriff of Northumberland', £33 6s. 8d; the money Richard had loaned him.<sup>(18)</sup> On 15 October the King authorised paying Richard de Horsley, Sheriff of Northumberland £12 12s. for keeping Scottish prisoners in Newcastle. This included 48s. 8d. for Mary, Robert the Bruce, King of the Scots' sister, who was held in Newcastle for 146 days from 29 January to 24 June 1310.<sup>(19)</sup>

King Edward II's favourite, Piers Gaveston, had upset several leading English nobles, including Edward's cousin, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. In August 1311 Edward sent Gaveston to Bamburgh castle for safety. The King had previously appointed Isabella de Beaumont, the widow of John de Vesci, governor of the castle. Parliament forced the King to send Piers Gaveston into exile in November 1311, but he returned. Gaveston was captured by the Barons and executed in June 1312. Edward commanded Isabella to hand over Bamburgh castle to John de Eslington. King Edward and the English army were defeated by the Scots at Bannockburn, near Sterling on 25 June 1314. John de Eslington was captured. Three days later 'owing to the extreme gravity of the crisis' King Edward appointed Roger de Horsley, constable of Bamburgh by word of mouth.<sup>(20)</sup>

The chief burgesses of Morpeth witnessed Henry, the son and heir of Robert de Horsley, who had been burgess of Morpeth, making a grant of land in the area of Morpeth market in about 1312.<sup>(21)</sup> In 1318 King Edward II ordered the collectors of Hartlepool to pay Richard de Horsley his wages for serving Robert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus. The order was written in French. The collectors did not pay and Richard had to ask the King again. In 1322 Edward ordered the collectors of Newcastle to pay Richard an identical sum.<sup>(22)</sup>

Between 1314 to 1318 Roger de Horsley, constable of Bamburgh castle asked King Edward's council to order the Sheriff of Northumberland's bailiffs to stop destroying a ditch which Horsley had built to enclose the King's lands and protect people's grazing rights. The request was written in French. The Council ordered the Sheriff to establish if his business touched the king's right, then proceed carefully and cause no damage.<sup>(23)</sup> The King ordered and paid for Horsley, to maintain 20 men at arms and 30 light cavalry men with quick, agile, Irish hobelar hobby horses at Bamburgh castle to defend the English border between 4 and 20 December 1315. Adenevit, a Welshman in the royal household, was also quartered at Bamburgh castle with Roger le Attallour who was improving the ballistics, bows, and other artillery. Two hostages were held in the castle who may have been exchanged by 'John the Irishman' for Jordan de Stokhalgh, a Scot. The Scottish Earl of Moray was demanding £270 from the people of Bamburgh to keep the agreed truce between Scotland and England. The local people complained to King Edward that Horsley was asking them to pay the same amount for protection against the Scots. They reported that Horsley was also asking them to pay 12d for a plot of ground in Bamburgh castle to store their belongings, whilst the castle's servants were making them pay to go in and out. Horsley made them buy the goods held in the castle, which the King's officials had got from across England, at set purveyance charge prices. 'John the Irishman and his fellows in the castle' however seemed to be taking provisions without paying. John de Gaskrik and other merchants of Barton on Humber, Lincolnshire complained to Parliament that Horsley was taking corn from their ships going to Berwick. The ships had had to anchor off Bamburgh because of bad weather. Horsley was also accused of buying sheep to supply Bamburgh castle and not paying for them. Meanwhile Horsley was himself petitioning the King for pay and arrears of £258.8s.4d. Horsley had to resign as constable on 7 February 1316.<sup>(20)</sup>

John, the son of John Horsley, let or sold a dwelling in Pilgrim Street, Newcastle on 22 June 1316.<sup>(17)</sup> In 1317 Richard de Horsley held the upland manors of Aldenscheles and Thernham, with land in Alwinton and Lyncheles. He also had property in Togston, near the towns of Warkworth and Amble by the Northumberland coast, at the mouth of the river Coquet.<sup>(1)</sup> The Horsleys of Thernham founded a chantry chapel at Quicken Cote manor, Redesdale.<sup>(24)</sup>

Gilbert de Middleton, keeper of Mitford castle, near Morpeth and his followers were attacking Cleveland and Northumberland fortresses and living off what they took. They did not attack Alnwick, Bamburgh or Norham. In July 1317 Middleton attacked the new bishop of Durham, Lewis Beaumont and his brother, Henry, who were cousins of King Edward, and two Italian cardinals at Rushford, north of Darlington, County Durham. Middleton was helped by light horsemen, including John de Horsley who also held land in Scranwood (now Scrainwood). The cardinals were going to Scotland to negotiate a truce between England and Scotland and to gather support for a crusade. Middleton and his followers took a large sum of money and imprisoned the four men in Mitford castle. The cardinals were soon freed, but Middleton did not release the Beaumonts until mid October after the prior of Durham had sold robes, plate and jewels and paid the bishop's ransom. The cardinals excommunicated Middleton and his followers from the 'communion of the faithful.' Some people suspected that King Edward's cousin, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, was involved in the attack as he had supported another candidate for bishop of Durham. The new Pope John XXII considered Robert the Bruce, King of Scots partly responsible, whilst some of King Edward's knights complained about the King's favouritism. Middleton was captured at Mitford castle and taken to the Tower of London in early January 1318. King Edward ordered that he was hung, drawn and quartered on 24 January 1318. Middleton's estate, including Scranwood, was taken by the King.<sup>(25)</sup>

By 19 August 1317 Roger de Horsley, the former constable of Bamburgh castle, had been appointed constable of Berwick castle.<sup>(26)</sup> Roger held Whitwhom (Whitchome/Whytewham/Le Whitewom) by providing Lord Greystoke of Morpeth the service of one sixteenth of a knight.<sup>(1)</sup> Robert the Bruce, King of Scots attempted to take the border town and trading port of Berwick by seige, but withdrew in September. Peter Spalding, an English man and burgess of the town, whose wife's relatives were Scottish nobility, was said to have a grudge against Roger de Horsley.<sup>(1)</sup> A small number of Scots, possibly led by Lord James Douglas, climbed over the town wall at night and hide in Berwick until daylight on 28 March 1318 when they started taking the town. Spalding was on guard at the Cowgate entrance to the castle and helped the Scottish forces get in. Some said Spalding was bribed as he thought Horsley treated him and the town's Scottish residents badly. Others said Horsley let Earl Randolph of Moray, Robert the Bruce's nephew, garrison some of Bruce's followers in Berwick.<sup>(19)</sup> Some of the English garrison and residents went into Berwick castle and tried unsuccessfully to attack the Scots. Horsley was hit by an arrow and lost an eye.<sup>(27)</sup> By noon the English garrison had to surrender, but the Scots let them march out honourably. Others say Bruce arrived with an army and after an eleven to sixteen week siege Horsley surrendered and led out the English garrison on 20 July because of lack of food and rescue. One of the English garrison, Robert de Blakebourn (Blakeburn, Blackbourne or Blackburn), managed to escape and take twenty one horses across the river Tweed. He then took Horsley's written reports about the siege to King Edward in Newcastle.<sup>(19)</sup>

Between 1318 and 1320 Blakebourn asked King Edward and his Council for help until he was able to recover his lands. He said he had served the King and his father for more than 22 years. He had been in Roger de Horsley's company in Berwick castle until its loss and was taken prisoner and wounded near to death. His brother had been killed at the battle of Bannockburn. During the previous ten years Blakebourn had lost his lands in the Scottish Marches border and also a fishery on the Tweed.<sup>(28)</sup> In a further request Blakebourn noted that he had served with three armed companions and they had not been paid. He was captured twice and had carried Horsley's reports from the siege to the King. Blakebourn again asked the King for aid following the losses in the Scottish war. He was in debt in London and elsewhere. Blakebourn was asked to say which place he was in and the King would speak to the treasurer.<sup>(29)</sup>

Luke de Warton (Wharton) also served with Horsley at Berwick and was later captured in Northumberland.<sup>(30)</sup> He had to mortgage his lands to Horsley to pay his forty four mark ransom.<sup>(31)</sup> Warton became destitute and had to ask King Edward for a place as a brother at St. Leonard's Hospital, York.<sup>(19)</sup>

The King ordered the Bishop of Durham to provide Joan de la Chaumbre suitable maintenance in Durham's Sherburn hospital as her husband, John, had been killed defending Berwick castle in the company of Horsley. The Bishop replied that the hospital was so burdened that she could not be accommodated. Joan then asked the King to grant her food from Newcastle as she has spent all her livelihood making these requests.<sup>(32)</sup> John de Preston, valet at arms, asked to be granted the bailiwick of Claro as he had served King Edward and his father for all the war against Scotland and during the siege of Berwick with Horsley.<sup>(33)</sup> William Salvage of Essex (and possibly Flanders) had also served the King and his father and was in Berwick castle with Horsley. He wrote asking for help as he had lost his belongings and been falsely outlawed. His wife and children had nothing to live on as his lands and tenements had been taken.<sup>(34)</sup>

In Berwick the Scots found Roger de Horsley's account for the English garrison ordering 20 quarters of wheat at 14s. per quarter and 20 pipes of wine at 50s. a pipe from King Edward's stores between 28 September 1317 and February 1318. In 1327 the Scottish chamberlain passed the account to King Edward III's staff and the £120 charge was cancelled.<sup>(19)</sup> The Scots held Berwick until 1333.

On 23 November 1318 King Edward granted Roger de Horsley 40 marks a year as keeper of Bamburgh castle.<sup>(35)</sup> Horsley used a seal showing a 'horse's head and neck bridled; not armorial' (not a coat of arms).<sup>(8)</sup> Four days later on 27 November, following the request of Bamburgh town's burgesses, the King told Horsley to stop taking money from people going in and out of the King's castle.<sup>(36)</sup> The burgesses had told the King that they sheltered in the castle at their own cost and helped keep watch and guard.<sup>(37)</sup> At the same time the tenants of Shoreston and North Sunderland, near Seahouses, told the King and his Council that they had to leave as the Scots were still burning their farms. Their women and children had been taken. They had to take refuge in Bamburgh castle, but were unable to pay. The King agreed that they need not work for a year and he told Horsley that he should not charge them for lodging at the castle.<sup>(38)</sup> Sometime between 1318 and 1327 the tenants of Beadnell asked King Edward to pardon what they owed to Bamburgh castle, the Sheriff of Northumberland for the King's Exchequer and from their farm as they were totally ruined by the enemy. The King instructed his treasurer to ask Roger de Horsley and others to report back.<sup>(39)</sup>

In 1318 the Prior of Nostell, Yorkshire complained that the constables of Bamburgh, Alnwick and Norham had taken tithe grain worth almost £250 over a number of years.<sup>(36)</sup> Roger de Horsley had a permanent garrison of fifteen men at arms and thirty foot soldiers at Bamburgh castle in 1319. King Edward also provided fifteen men at arms commanded by David de Langeton and Thomas de Hedon.<sup>(20)</sup> Sometime between 1314 and 1322 Adam, the son of William de Elyneham, was held in Bamburgh castle accused of planning to betray the King's people in Northumberland. Elyneham asked King Edward and his Council to be moved to Newcastle or elsewhere so he could clear himself of treason. He was told that Roger de Horsley would be asked why he was being held in this way.<sup>(40)</sup>

Richard de Horsley held Thernham in 1318.<sup>(6)</sup> Following Richard's request King Edward's council ordered the collectors of Hartlepool, County Durham to pay the money he had been granted by the King for his wages when he had served in the company of Robert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus. The order was written in French. In 1322 the collectors of Newcastle were told to pay an identical sum.<sup>(41)</sup>

In June 1319 King Edward ordered his commissioner William de Swinburne of Capheaton (between Newcastle and Morpeth) to assemble and march a force of 2000 men to Newcastle.<sup>(1)</sup> On 14 August William agreed that his eldest son, Alexander de Swinburne, would marry Roger de Horsley's daughter, Elizabeth. William gave Richard de Emeldon, Mayor of Newcastle a £500 deed as security. William and Roger also gave the mayor a £50 bond that would be given to Roger if Elizabeth died before she was 14 years old and had not had children by Alexander.<sup>(42)</sup> Two copies of agreement were written in French on one sheet, which was cut with indented, irregular lines looking like rows of teeth.

King Edward arrived at Berwick on 9 September 1319 to lay siege and try to retake the town. The English Earls however made the King end the siege, when they heard that the Scots were raiding Yorkshire and had defeated the English on 12 September at Myton, near Boroughbridge. Richard de Horsley was serving the English border wardens with four men at arms on 28 September and two days later Robert de Horsley was serving in Northumberland with four men at arms. Robert de Umfraville mustered twenty four men at arms to defend the Scottish border, including his tenant, John de Horsley.<sup>(43)</sup>

On 22 December 1319 King Edward II's representatives agreed a truce with the Scots until Christmas 1321. Contact between people on the Scottish and English sides of the border was forbidden. Roger de Horsley of Bamburgh and Scranwood was one of four commissioners appointed in Northumberland on January 1320 to keep the truce. He had to deal with any disturbances and hear people's complaints about the damages they suffered because of the fighting. On 28 December Horsley considered the petition of Robert de Clifford who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Bannockburn where he had lost his horses and armour worth 100 marks. Clifford had been ransomed for £100 and held in Bamburgh castle at his own cost for the last six years. During this time Clifford had lost £100 a year income from his lands. He asked King Edward to grant him the £62 annual income from Clyve farm which was going to the King's Exchequer while he was held at 'the King's pleasure' and until he got 'relief of his trouble'.<sup>(19)</sup> About this time Horsley had to complain that he had not received any of the 40 marks a year payment for keeping Bamburgh castle. The request was again written in French. The King agreed that he should be paid.<sup>(35)</sup>

Around 2 February 1321 Roger de Horsley was among the men asked to ensure the safety of Robert the Bruce, King of Scot's peace negotiator, John de Pilmor, when he travelled to Newcastle.<sup>(44)</sup> The negotiations failed and on 25 August the Sheriff of Northumberland ordered Roger and others to provide men to fight the Scots and Thomas, Earl of Lancaster's rebels. Lancaster was convicted of secret dealings with the Scots and executed on 22 March 1322. King Edward ordered the Sheriff of Northumberland to take control of the Lancaster's property and Roger was told to hold Lancaster's castle at Dunstanburgh.<sup>(17)</sup> Two days later, on 24 March, the King appointed Richard Emeldon, a distinguished merchant of Newcastle, keeper of Dunstanburgh and the other castles and lands in the late Lancaster's Durham and Northumberland estate.<sup>(20)</sup>

During 1322 William Grubbe, a merchant from the Hanseatic city of Zutphen (near Arnhem) was sailing his ship from Norway to King's Lynn or Great Yarmouth, Norfolk. The boat was forced onto the Bamburgh coast by a storm. John de Newbiggin and Roger de Horsley seized the boat, goods and crew as they suspected, incorrectly, that the merchant was trying to supply the Scots. Newbiggin and Horsley imprisoned Grubbe and his crew, then escorted them towards Berwick which was held by the Scots. Eventually Grubbe and his companions got to Newcastle, but their ship and goods were held. Grubbe complained to King Edwards' Council. He was advised that the King was appointing justices to hear and decide Grubbe's case according to English law and custom as he was an 'alien' and the 'trespass' was recognised as great.<sup>(45)</sup> The petition was written in French.

On 26 September 1322 King Edward wrote to Roger de Horsley, constable of Bamburgh castle from Durham. He told Horsley that, 'as he must well know', the Scots with a small force have entered the March borderland. The King went on to tell Roger that 'After infesting the neighbourhood of the castles near him, doing mischief, and, what is worse, taking ransoms and hostages from his subjects, have got away without challenge or damage from the garrisons, to the constable's dishonour and shame, as he had a stronger force, and should have secured the safety of the March, which the King has spent so much in strengthening'. King Edward said he had 'sure' intelligence from Sir Thomas de Grey, constable of Norham castle, that the enemy are entrenched near Norham castle with no more than 100 men at arms and 100 'hobelours' light cavalry. In Berwick there were only 40 men at arms and the town burgesses. The King was astonished that Horsley did not have proper scouts and people watching, harassing and delaying the enemy. King Edward commanded Horsley 'to see and do better' and work with the other garrisons to send out spies and 'exploit on the enemy. Horsley was told to be ready to join the King when summoned.<sup>(19)</sup>

John de Plessis gave Richard de Horsley various lands around Shotton, south of Morpeth, in 1322.<sup>(1)</sup> Harbottle castle had been taken by the Scots in 1318 and dismantled, but quickly restored. When peace between England and Scotland could not be restored in 1323 John de Fenwick, Sheriff of Northumberland was ordered to be present with Roger de Horsley and two other men and demolish the castle as quickly as possible.<sup>(6)</sup> In September 1323 Roger was ordered to take the recently captured Geoffrey de Heydon to the Sheriff of Northumberland to be kept for King Edward.<sup>(46)</sup>

The people of Bamburgh and monks continued to suffer Scottish raids. People pulled down their homes when the Scots approached to save their homes being burnt or taken. They could not live outside the safety of the castle and earn money. King Edward recognised the problem and in 1323 allowed them not to pay their debts until All Saints Day, 1 November 1324. The King also told Roger de Horsley, constable of Bamburgh castle, to let people bring timber, possessions and food from their homes into the castle for safety.<sup>(14)</sup>

King Charles IV of France and Navarre was gathering an army to invade England on 23 July 1324. King Edward ordered sheriffs to be ready to assemble forces, including Robert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus and Roger de Horsley in Northumberland.

Lewis Beaumont, Bishop of Durham received Horsley's oath to defend 'the church, realm and people' as one of the two keepers of Northumberland's ports.<sup>(47)</sup> All the Bamburgh mens' ships, which were kept at the nearby Warenmouth port, were taken into the King's service.<sup>(14)</sup> The inquest held on 24 August 1324 following the death of Ralph de Greystoke confirmed that Roger de Horsley held land at Whytewham (Le Whitewom/Whitchome/Whitwhom) by giving 1lb. of cumin every year.<sup>(48)</sup>

In about 1325 the people of Northumberland asked King Edward and his Council to cancel their debts. They said they have been ruined by war and since the truce had been required to pay their debts and rent arrears. They reported that two hundred townships in the county were deserted and were likely to remain so until the debts were cleared. They also asked that Roger de Horsley, constable of Bamburgh castle would not collect their rent, the cornage tax on grazing horned cattles and the castle guard charges due since the battle of Bannockburn. The Council replied saying it would please the King if the lands of these 'good people' was inhabited quickly so they could help defend it. The petition, written in French, was presented at the January 1327 parliament.<sup>(49)</sup> On 10 May 1325 the Sheriffs of London were ordered to release a 'harpour' of the Steward of Scotland who they had arrested even though he had been granted safe passage by Roger de Horsley, one of the keepers of the truce.<sup>(19)</sup>

After the death of Robert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, the inquest on 10 May 1325 confirmed that John de Horsley held part, possibly half, of Thernham manor by providing the service of a fifth of a knight or paying 7s 1/2d.<sup>(50)</sup> John held other land in Thernham by providing a twentieth of a knight's service; Cahogh tenement by another twentieth and Aldenscheles by a fifth. All these Northumberland properties had however been destroyed by the Scots and were worth nothing.<sup>(19)</sup>

The people of Northumberland's petition asking King Edward II and his Council in about 1325 to cancel their debts, including dues owed to Roger de Horsley, constable of Bamburgh castle was presented to the January 1327 parliament.<sup>(49)</sup> The prior and convent of St Oswald, Nostell asked the King and his Council to take into account that some of the goods which they should have received as tithe income had been taken by Horsley to maintain Bamburgh castle for the King.<sup>(51)</sup> Around 29 January 1327 it was confirmed that the priory should be granted an allowance as Pontefract, a former Yorkshire estate of the Earl of Lancaster, now held by the King, was owed £384 14s 5d for various grain supplied to Horsley for the castle.<sup>(52)</sup>

On Sunday 1 February 1327 Edward III was crowned King at Westminster abbey. Roger de Horsley was relieved of his charge as constable of Bamburgh castle in the same month.<sup>(49)</sup> About this time, Isabel de Essot (Eshott), the executor of the late William le Ken of Eshott advised King Edward III that he had owed William le Ken £10 for sheep which had been supplied to Bamburgh castle when Horsley was keeper.<sup>(53)</sup> Between 1327 and 1332 Roger told King Edward's council that the late King had granted him a pension of 40 marks for his good service. He was to receive this from Bamburgh castle until he was given land of the same value. Horsley said that the King had at first parliament ordered this to be paid. However although he has often asked Robert de Hornclif, the new constable of Bamburgh, he was told no money was available because of the Scottish war. Horsley asked the Council for payment including arrears. Horsley was told to show his charter in Chancery and tell the King the length of time the pension had not been paid. The Council would then order Hornclif to pay.<sup>(54)</sup>

In 1334 Roger de Horsley, the former constable of Bamburgh castle, asked the King's Council for the Exchequer to give him an account of the various bills and debts owed to him and the debts he owed the King. The Treasurer and Exchequer were told to look at Horsley's bills and give him payment or an allowance for the debts owed to him.<sup>(55)</sup> On 6 May 1338 John, the son of John de Horsley, bailiff of Newbiggin witnessed grants and warrants for property in Wodehorn (now Woodhorn).<sup>(56)</sup>

Roger de Horsley probably died on Tuesday 2 May 1340.<sup>(57)</sup> He left the manor of Scranwood and land and tenements in Horsley. Half the manor of Scranwood was held by the King after the execution of Gilbert de Middleton in 1319.<sup>(1)</sup> The Horsleys of Scranwood's coat of arms was gules (red) three horses' heads couped argent (silver) bridled sable (black).<sup>(8)</sup> These arms may be on the west turret of Bothel castle gatehouse, along with those of King Edward III; his son, the Black Prince and other Northumberland knights. 'The reins are pulled so tight that the horses' heads seem charging like battering rams'.<sup>(20)</sup> Margery de Horsley died in 1342. She had been the prioress of Holystone nunnery, near Alwinton.<sup>(6)</sup>

In 1349 Thomas Horsley granted John Heron two messuage dwellings with land on Hartside moor at the edge of the Cheviot hills, west of Ingram and Alnwick.<sup>(58)</sup> Henry Horsley was a tenant at Ford, south west of Berwick, on 29 September 1351.<sup>(19)</sup>

John and Alice Scot acknowledged that four messuages dwellings, 60 acres of land and 6 acres of meadow in Thernham were held by Richard Horsley on 2 June 1353. Richard gave them 100 marks of silver.<sup>(59)</sup> Richard was elected as one of the Northumberland representatives to attend King Edward III's Parliaments in 1357 and 1359 at Westminster. In 1360 the King asked the Sheriff of Northumberland, Henry Strother, to elect two of the county's 'most discreet, trusty, and able knights' to serve in Parliament. Strother replied saying that the only knight of that description was 'feeble and unfit for work'. The county went on to elect Richard and Robert Wendult although they had not been knighted. The other Northumberland knights were serving on the Scottish border or in France.<sup>(1)</sup> About 1360 Richard acquired new land in Coldtown, Redesdale.<sup>(60)</sup>

About 1360 Richard Hunter gave ten marks for land in Hurst, Newbiggin and Ellington, near Morpeth which he had taken from John Horsley and John Thorald, followers of Gilbert de Middleton.<sup>(1)</sup> An inquest was held at Newcastle on 24 March 1360 about the estate of John Horsley's son, Roger, who had died on Tuesday 2 May 1340. Roger's 48 year old son, Thomas, was recognised as his heir. Thomas had to provide a knight's service to Henry Percy of Alnwick for the part of Scranwood manor which John and Roger had held. Thomas was now granted the part of the manor which had been held by the Crown since the execution of Gilbert de Middleton in 1318. Thomas had to provide the service of a sixth of a knight and 8d. or give a pair of gilt spurs every year for this. Thomas also had to give a knight's service and 8s. 4d. for the lands and tenements (unspecified) in Longhorsley which Roger had held from the heirs of Philip de Somerville. The court recorded that Thomas held no other lands in Northumberland or elsewhere 'as they understand'.<sup>(57)</sup> Thomas had to pay a £20 fine as he had taken possession of the property before completing the correct legal process.<sup>(1)</sup> About this time Thomas Horsley, who held Longhorsley, is also recorded as holding land in Ingram and being the constable of Harbottle castle.<sup>(60)</sup>

On 20 June 1363 the former Sheriff of Northumberland, Roger Widdrington, was ordered to take a Scottish hostage, Thomas Hay, to the new sheriff, Richard Horsley, so Hay could be safely held in Newcastle castle.<sup>(17)</sup> King Edward appointed Henry Percy, Lord of Alnwick; Horsley and the former Sheriffs, Henry and Alan Strother commissioners on 28 December to carry out an inquiry into the murder of John Coupland, eight days before. In 1346 Coupland had captured David, King of the Scots and delivered him into King Edward's custody. Edward appointed him constable of Roxburgh castle on the river Tweed and Sheriff of Roxburgh. Coupland had also served as Sheriff of Northumberland and deputy warden of the East March. Coupland's widow, Joan, was probably the sister of Henry and Alan Strother. Richard Horsley's son, Robert, was married to Alan Strother's daughter, Joan.<sup>(43)</sup>

The commissioners met at Newcastle castle on 24 January 1364. Richard Horsley, Sheriff appointed a jury, including his relative, Thomas Horsley, and Roger Widdrington, a former Sheriff. Thomas and Roger had both had land forfeited by King Edward. The jury found that Coupland had been murdered on Bolton moor, west of Alnwick, by an armed gang of twenty two named men. The gang was thought to have acted on its own initiative and fled to Scotland without support from other Northumbrians. Even before the inquiry finished Edward appointed two other commissions to look into the murder as it was recognised the first was not unbiased. The men who helped the named murderers were arrested, but they were released after paying the King. The third and final inquiry was a general inquiry into all crimes in Northumberland. People paid the King more fines and he pardoned everyone, except those accused of treason or the murder of John Coupland. The murderers were never caught. King Edward appointed Alan Strother as constable of Roxburgh castle and Sheriff of Roxburgh.<sup>(43)</sup> Alan may have provided Geoffrey Chaucer with the inspiration for the clerks with northern English accents in 'The Reeve's Tale'.<sup>(61)</sup> Alan's brother, Henry, became Sheriff of Northumberland after Richard Horsley.<sup>(43)</sup>

Richard Horsley witnessed a deed at Plessey on 11 April 1367. On 16 October Richard, as Sheriff of Northumberland, was organising the Northumberland forces.<sup>(1)</sup> The lands of Horsseleys in Lanarkshire, Scotland were forfeited in 1369.<sup>(62)</sup> On 20 October 1370 King Edward ordered that Richard Horsley, Sheriff of Northumberland would not have to pay the Exchequer the rents and profits of the county as the lands had been wasted by the frequent attacks by the Scots.<sup>(63)</sup> Richard witnessed William Delaval leasing property on 30 September 1371.<sup>(16)</sup> Richard died in 1372 and his estate included a dwelling with some attached land (toft) at Bradley, near Crawcrook.<sup>(64)</sup> His son, Robert was recorded in Bishop Hatfield's Survey of the Durham See estate as holding half of Crawcrook by providing foreign service and paying 10s. each year. Robert also had to pay 1d. every September feast day of Saint Cuthbert for the toft with fourty acres of land land at Bradley.<sup>(65)</sup> Thomas Horsley paid 8s. every year for a messuage dwelling at Ponderland.<sup>(65)</sup>

In 1375 Roger Horsley held land in Le Whitewom (Whitchome/Whitwhom/Whytewham) by providing the late William Greystoke, Lord of Morpeth the service of a fortieth part of a knight.<sup>(66)</sup> Between about 1377 and 1399 John Preston asked King Richard II if he could hold lands in South Dissington, north of Crawcrook. John Preston's mother, Margaret, was the sister of William Horsley. William and his wife, Katherine Russell, had died leaving no children. Katherine's father, William Russell, had held the land in South Dissington, but it had been taken by King Edward III because her brother had supported the Scots. Preston told King Richard that the land was actually held by Katherine, his late aunt, not her brother.<sup>(67)</sup> On Thursday 26 March 1381, Easter week, an inquest held in Northumberland agreed that Robert Horsley's wife, Joan, could inherit part of her brother, Alan Strother's estate in Croughton/Crookdean manor, Kirkwhelpinton and Sweethope, near Otterburn<sup>(68)</sup>. Robert and Joan's son, Robert, was born on St Andrew's day, 30 November 1381.<sup>(69)</sup>

The Scots invaded England in August 1388 while there were ongoing disputes between King Richard and noblemen, including the rival Neville and Percy families who were defending the border. The Scots tried to surprise the English by splitting their army. Their main force headed towards Carlisle, whilst James Douglas, Earl of Douglas and Mar lead a smaller mounted group into Northumberland and laid waste to Redesdale. Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Warden of the East March, sent his sons, Henry 'Hotspur' and Ralph, to meet the Scots at Newcastle. Some say that during a skirmish outside the city walls Douglas snatched the silk pennon flag, displaying the Percy's coat of arms, from Hotspur's lance. Douglas told Hotspur he would fly it from his Scottish castle. Hotspur said he could get the pennon back and Douglas agreed to give him the opportunity. The Scots moved north and destroyed Ponteland castle. They set up camp near Robert Umfraville's castle at Otterburn. Hotspur and some of his force surprised the Scots arriving at nightfall and attacking. Douglas was killed, but the Scottish troops soon got organised and defeated the English. Some say the English were exhausted after their day's fast march from Newcastle and the English long bowmen could not see their targets in the woods and dark, but others said the night was lit by a harvest moon. Henry Hotspur; his brother, Ralph Percy, Alan Horsley and Nicholas Raymes (possibly the nephew of Alan's aunt, Elizabeth Horsley Swinburne) were among about English prisoners who were held by the Scots as hostages.<sup>(43)</sup> In 1389 King Richard granted Alan Horsley property in Maxwell and Softlaw, Teviotdale, Roxburghshire.<sup>(70)</sup> It had been taken from Scottish tenants after an earlier rebellion. This was little help in paying Alan's ransom as he had already been granted this land on a short term basis and was unable to use it because of the unrest<sup>(43)</sup> The Horsleys were among the men who fought with Thomas de Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, Warden of the East March of the English border and Keeper of Berwick in March 1389.<sup>(71)</sup>

Robert Horsley died on Friday 2 November 1391. The inquest held at the castle in Newcastle on Saturday 24 August 1392 noted that Robert had held Caldton and Aldenscheles manors in Redesdale by providing a knight's service to the Umframvilles. Robert had paid 4d. each year as warden of Harbottle castle and held part of Thernham and Togston. The court recognised that the value of the properties had fallen because of destruction by the Scots. Robert's eleven year old son, Robert, was granted the estate.<sup>(69)</sup> The Bishop of Durham's court confirmed that Robert had held half of Crawcrook by the service set out by charter and a 10s payment. He paid 1d. rent for a field at nearby Bradley with le Beye.<sup>(72)</sup>

Between 1393 and 1394 Robert Horsley was the Abbot of Newminster.<sup>(1)</sup> On 14 January 1395 John Horsley 'had the misfortune to be carried off by the Scots'.<sup>(20)</sup> William Horsley received a letter from Westminster on 10 February 1395 saying that he could not be prosecuted or sued in England for one year while he served King Richard in Aquitaine.<sup>(73)</sup> On 16 November John Broun of Hawkwell (Hawkewelle, north of Crawcrook), granted John Wodman (Wodeman/Woodman) all his lands and tenements in Hawkwell for a yearly rent of four marks sterling.<sup>(16)</sup> On about 15 May 1399 one of King Richard's valets asked to be granted the fishing rights on the mouth of the river Tweed which had been held by the late William Horsley.<sup>(63)</sup> William Horsley received a further letter on 29 September 1401 from Westminster saying that he had legal protection while he was in Aquitaine serving King Henry IV.<sup>(74)</sup>

During the 14<sup>th</sup> century Thomas Horsley gave his aunt, Matilda, the widow of Thomas Bottalle, half an acre of land in South Horsley in exchange for half an acre in North Croftes, both were in Horsley, west of Crawcrook.<sup>(16)</sup> On 29 March 1401 Thomas was on the jury in Newcastle considering the estate of the former Member of Parliament and Sheriff of Northumberland, Sir Betram Monbourcher.<sup>(75)</sup> He served again at Newcastle on 26 April 1403 for the inquest of Alice Delaval, the widow of William Whitchestre and Sir John Maners.<sup>(76)</sup>

John Wodman, mason, gifted Robert Wyse and John Baudwyn by deed all his lands and tenements in Hexham on 20 January 1402.<sup>(16)</sup> William Horsley was a juror on 3 April 1404 in Durham identifying the estate of the late Thomas Lumley, the son and heir of Sir Ralph Lumley.<sup>(77)</sup> William held land in Butterwick (near Sedgefield, County Durham) which his wife, Anne Butterwick, the widow of John Rome, had probably been inherited from her Butterwick family between 1408 and 1413.<sup>(78)</sup> On 11 August 1404 Robert Horsley gave Mary, the widow of Sir William Swinburne of Capheaton, a receipt for £37 6s. 8d., noting that this was part of the larger sum she owed him. Robert married William and Mary's daughter, Elizabeth.<sup>(79)</sup> John Horsley was a juror at the inquest on 29 August 1405 at Morpeth after the death of David Holgrave of Bothal.<sup>(80)</sup>

Before 1407 Roger Horsley appears to have arranged that his manor of Ulchester could only be inherited or sold to certain people. King Edward may have granted the Horsleys some of the manor or it may have passed to Henry Horsley in the mid 1300s when he married Joan, the daughter of Margery de Ulcestre and Roger de Weston.<sup>(14)</sup> The inheritance appears to have been disputed by John Horsley in 1407.<sup>(8)</sup> Roger was at Alnwick on 25 October 1410 identifying the estate of the late Henry Lilburn, the brother of Thomas.<sup>(81)</sup> In 1411 Roger and his wife, Elena, and their son, Roger and his wife, Johanna were involved in a dispute about trespassing with John Horsley, the son and heir of Thomas Horsley; grandson and heir of Thomas Horsley and possibly the great grandson of Roger de Horsley.<sup>(8)</sup>

Sixty year old John Horsley was a member of the jury for an inquest held in Morpeth on 12 February 1411 to prove that Margaret Heton of Chillingham was now 16 years old. John told the court that he had been captured by the Scots on the day of Margaret's christening. Another man said he had been also been taken that day, but by men opposed to King Richard. Other men recalled attending the service, whilst Margaret's father, Henry, had sent one man to buy wine in Newcastle.<sup>(82)</sup>

On 31 March 1412 Roger Horsley was a juror at Bamburgh after the death of Elizabeth Heton<sup>(1)</sup>, the widow of Sir John Fenwick.<sup>(83)</sup> Roger died on 21 October 1412. His inquest was held on 18 April 1414 at Rothbury. The court noted that Roger and his widow, Joan, held a third of Burradon manor, from Gilbert de Umfraville, Lord of Redesdale, by providing a knight's service, at an annual value of 100s..<sup>(6)</sup> Roger's heirs were Richard Gurlay, who was over 44 years old, and John Galon, who was over 40 years old.<sup>(84)</sup>

Adam Hagman granted Robert Wyse a messuage dwelling with croft land and eleven acres of land, all in south Horsley on 21 September 1413. Robert could hold them for his life and then John, son of John Wodman, and his heirs for ever.<sup>(16)</sup> On 31 October John Horsley granted Sir William Coke, chaplain, and John's brother, Patom Wodman, two and a half burgage narrow plots of land with buildings and ten acres of land in Hexham which he had inherited after his father, John Wodman's death.<sup>(16)</sup> It is thought that John took the surname Horsley as he now held the property in Horsley.<sup>(85)</sup> John Horsley, son and heir of John Wodman, granted Robert Elmet a tenement in Hawkwell for an annual rent of 13s. 4d. on 18 February 1416.<sup>(16)</sup>

On 9 June 1415 Edgar Heton signed a statement at Newcastle agreeing to fully discharge and release his sister, 'dame', Mary of Swinburne from an agreement. Mary's son in law, Robert Horsley, and Robert's cousin, John Strother, were witnesses.<sup>(86)</sup> King Henry V organised a survey to make sure the Scottish border's places of strength were left secure before he went to fight in France in August 1415. Robert Horsley was listed as holding the tower at Thernham. Cropmarks and slight earthwork remains of probably a small fortified pele tower or keep have been identified. The tower could have had a basket on the top where a fire signal could warn of approaching danger. Only a circular stone lined water well seemed to have remained in the tree plantation north of High Farnham farmhouse.<sup>(6)</sup> Sometime after 1415 the Horsleys built a stone house at Linbriggs, above the north bank of the river Coquet. It was naturally defended by the river which flows through a steep sided ravine and would have commanded the valley to the north.<sup>(20)</sup>

Thomas Horsley of Newcastle was the defendant in a court case in 1417.<sup>(8)</sup> Robert Horsley was a juror at an inquest in Newcastle on 18 March 1418 after the death of Christina, the widow of John Wendout.<sup>(87)</sup> On 21 September 1419 John Horsley was at Newcastle for the inquest after Sir Philip Darcy's death.<sup>(88)</sup> Darcy had held Wooler hospital and two thirds of Cheviot forest from King Henry. The jury reported that the forest had been devasted by the Scots.

Roger Horsley was living at Ulchester in 1420.<sup>(14)</sup> William Horsley attended the Chapter of Heralds at Rouen on 5 January 1420 as Clarenceux King of Arms. William is also listed as an earlier Guyene King of Arms, Leopard Herald and Ireland King of Arms. His arms were checky of nine pieces azure and/or with an escallop or in dexter chief.<sup>(89)</sup>

On 25 June 1421 John Horsley and John Delaval were on the jury at the inquest in Morpeth following the death of Sir John Lumley.<sup>(90)</sup> John Horsley was in the castle of Newcastle on 25 February 1423 at the inquest after Thomas Hesilrig's death.<sup>(91)</sup> John Delaval of Newsham had no son.<sup>(92)</sup> On 28 September 1423 he granted his lands in Newsham and Blythesnook, north of Seaton Delaval, to his daughter and heiress, Elizabeth Delaval, as part of her marriage settlement with John Horsley.<sup>(93)</sup> John Horsley pledged to fulfil his responsibilities toward Elizabeth 'onestly acordynge to his degré'.<sup>(94)</sup> Elizabeth was probably underage as her father agreed to support her in the Delaval family home for four more years. John was allowed to visit Elizabeth, but not stay with her. John Delaval however agreed to provide John Horsley accommodation when he visited, along with his valet and horse. John Delaval gave the couple later use of Blythsnook, a promontory on the north of the river Blyth estuary, and agreed to supply 'all manner of stuffe of houshold'.<sup>(85)</sup>

'John Horsley's ancestry is vague'.<sup>(94)</sup> Some say John was a lawyer, and the son of John Wodman, the mason, who held property in Horsley.<sup>(85)</sup> This source notes that the Delaval coat of arms includes the same arms as the Horsleys of Ulchester, Long Horsley and Scranwood. Another says that 'The later lords of Seaton Delaval, in 1575, commence their paternal pedigree with John and Elizabeth's son, James, 'Jacobus Delavale alias dictus Jacobus Horsley' and their coat of arms included the Horsley gules, three horses' heads couped argent bridled'.<sup>(95)</sup> Others state that Elizabeth married John Horsley of Ulchester<sup>(96)</sup>, esquire<sup>(97)</sup> and another provides a family tree showing John as the son of Roger and grandson of Henry Horsley and Joan Weston of Ulchester.<sup>(14)</sup> William Halliwell and his wife, Agnes, conveyed a house in Westgate, Newcastle to John Horsley on 20 August 1424.<sup>(85)</sup> On 8 September 1425 John was a juror at Morpeth after the death of Sir John Clavering, who had been a Member of Parliament and Sheriff of Northumberland.<sup>(98)</sup>

Robert Horsley was a juror at the inquest on 16 April 1426 at Corbridge after Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland's death.<sup>(99)</sup> In 1426 Alexander Lermouth (Leyremonthe or Leremonthe), gentleman and John Horsley esquire agreed that Alexander's son and heir, John should marry Horsley's daughter, Katherine. Alexander agreed to give John and Katherine 'a sure and useful estate' in Bamburgh worth £8 a year and that he would pay the King and his successors a red rose at Bamburgh castle every Midsummer day. John Horsley and Alexander Lermouth also kept rights to the property, which could have been the land belonging to the porter of the castle.<sup>(14)</sup> Alexander was clerk of works of the town and castle of Berwick in 1434.<sup>(19)</sup>

William and Anne Butterwick Horsley conveyed Butterwick manor to William and Cecily Bellasis in 1428. The Bellasis agreed to pay Anne an annuity of 4 marks during her lifetime.<sup>(78)</sup> John Horsley and Thomas Blenkinsop each held parts of Lyham (between Wooler and Outchester) by one eighteenth of a knight's fee respectively in 1428.<sup>(58)</sup> John was one of the men in Northumberland identified by Parliament on 12 April 1431 as being liable to pay tax on the property they held.<sup>(100)</sup> The tax was not collected as it was not possible to administer. Robert Horsley was a juror at the inquest on 16 June 1431 in the castle at Newcastle after John Neville, Lord Latimer's death.<sup>(101)</sup>

John Kendal of Newcastle granted John Horsley half an acre of land in Corbridge on 8 January 1432.<sup>(16)</sup> King Henry VI's regency council had become concerned that less customs duty income was being collected, notably from the wool trade. John Horsley was one of the commissioners appointed on 5 March to identify what wool, lead and other goods were coming in by boat to Northumberland, Newcastle and the bishopric of Durham without custom payment. The commissioners were also told to check the export licences for gold and silver and the trade by land of horses and cattle between England and Scotland.<sup>(100)</sup>

On 12 February 1433 the Council appointed John Horsley as one of the commissioners, alongside Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland and Robert Umfraville, required to ask people in Northumberland, under oath, about marriages, children made wards, property that had been left by people who have died without heirs and rights concealed from the King. The commissioners were also to ask about escaped prisoners and people who had committed treasons, serious crimes, falsifications, deceptions, concealments, extortions, seized property, intrusions, offences, negligences or set aside the law.<sup>(100)</sup> John Horsley, the husband of Elizabeth Delaval, paid a hundred marks and purchased sixteen messuage dwellings and gardens in Newcastle from Agnes, the widow of William Halliwell.<sup>(85)</sup>

Also in 1433 John was one of two men appointed to make up the required number of commissioners needed on the royal inquisition about the liberty of the county palatine of Durham controlled by Bishop Langley. The commissioners, including the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, Robert Hilton and the mayor of Newcastle, met at Hartlepool and then Newcastle. The meetings were sometimes violent. The enquiry provided clear evidence of the bishop's authority and the freedom of the county Durham from English Crown control.<sup>(17)</sup> William Horsley of Catton, south of Stamford Bridge, Yorkshire was involved in a court case about the mortgage of lands in Catton.<sup>(102)</sup>

In 1434 John Horsley purchased some of the Bolam estate, west of Morpeth, which had belonged to Roger Thornton.<sup>(5)</sup> John Horsley of Horsley (Longhorsley) was certified to be a one of the Northumberland men on the Chancery court.<sup>(94)</sup> On 1 May the regency Council required all those serving to take an oath not to support anyone who broke the peace.<sup>(100)</sup> In April 1435 John sold a cottage and some land in Eshott, north east of Longhorsley.<sup>(4)</sup> He was a juror at the inquest on 7 October 1436 at the castle in Newcastle after Sir John Greystoke's death.<sup>(103)</sup> In 1436 and 1440/1 John Horsley, an apprentice lawyer, had tax liabilities for lands and tenements and rents in the county of Northumberland, the town of Newcastle and the liberty of Hexhamshire with a yearly value of £14.<sup>(94)</sup>

Robert Horsley was a juror at the inquests at the castle in Newcastle on 22 April 1438 after John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford's death<sup>(104)</sup> and on 20 August 1439 following the death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.<sup>(105)</sup> Alan Horsley served in Aquitaine, France in 1439 under King Henry's Lieutenant, John Holland, Duke of Exeter and Earl of Huntingdon.<sup>(106)</sup> During Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York's expedition to France in 1441 Alan and William Horsley were men at arms in the two hundred man retinue of one of the wealthiest English knights, Ralph Gray, Lord of Wark.<sup>(106)</sup> In August 1443 John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset and Earl of Kendal lead an expedition to France with over four thousand men, including William Horsley who served in William Tempest's retinue.<sup>(106)</sup> The men marched south from Cherbourg to Gascony. They then seized the town of La Guerche in Brittany, even though it was allied to England. Beaufort was considered a poor commander and may have been ill. After marching aimlessly through Maine the unsuccessful expedition returned to England.<sup>(106)</sup>

John and Robert Horsley witnessed a property deed in Morpeth in 1440.<sup>(1)</sup> John had inherited the tower and defensive 'barmkin' enclosure of Scranwood.<sup>(1)</sup> His daughter, Eleanor, married Thomas Bradford of Bradford, near Ulchester.<sup>(92)</sup> On 9 April 1444 John held two husbandlands in Longhorsley. They had an annual value of 3s. 4d.; the service due to the late Sir John Widdrington was unknown.<sup>(107)</sup> On 20 April 1444 the inquest held at Durham after the death of Robert Horsley confirmed that his son, Richard, who was twenty four years old, was his heir. Robert held part of Crawcrook and Bradley with le Beye.<sup>(108)</sup> Richard Horsley held a share of Crawcrook on 27 April 1445.<sup>(1)</sup> John Horsley and Elizabeth Delaval's son, James Horsley Delaval<sup>(97)</sup> married Margery (Margaret/Marion), the daughter of Robert Mitford of Seghill (south west of Seaton Delaval) before 1446.<sup>(85)</sup> In 1446 Elizabeth Whitchester and her husband, John Burcester, agreed to leave James all the Delaval properties, except Newsham and Benwell. James's grandfather, John Delaval of Newsham and Elizabeth Whichester Burcester's late grandmother, Alice Delaval, were cousins.<sup>(85)</sup>

William Horsley was one of the merchants shipping wool from Newcastle using a ship called Mariknight, of Dans, with Clays Mulner as master on 21 April 1449. Horsley and the other men involved in the shipment had paid the King's subsidy tax at Newcastle. On Palm Sunday the ship and its cargo sunk in storms of the coast of Flanders. The merchants told the court they thought the ship might have been taken by the King Henry's enemies off Dieppe. The court agreed the English treasurer should let the merchants export a similar quantity of wool without paying the subsidy.<sup>(17)</sup> Robert Horsley died in his tower at Thernham in 1455.<sup>(6)</sup>

On 25 December 1454 'James Horsseley, alias James De lavale, son of John Horsseley and of Elisabeth Delavale' granted all his rights to the manor of Benwell (between Newcastle and Crawcrook) to Robert Rhodes.<sup>(92)</sup> His grandfather, John Delaval, died in 1455<sup>(85)</sup> and his mother, Elizabeth, died before 1456. 'James de la Vale of Seton de la Vale, otherwise called James Horsey' then inherited Newsham and Blythesnook.<sup>(109)</sup> James Delaval, alias Horsley's coat of arms, included the Horsley gules, three horses' heads couped erased argent.<sup>(95)</sup> On 20 February 1459 John Briggham gave John Horsley, gentleman, his tenement in Ulchester.<sup>(14)</sup>

Dame Elizabeth Whitchester Burcester died on 15 May 1469.<sup>(85)</sup> John Neville, Marquis Montagu and Sheriff of Northumberland disputed James Horsley Delaval succeeding to Seaton Delaval. James was imprisoned in Newcastle and then London.<sup>(109)</sup>

Soon after the death of John Neville<sup>(94)</sup> on Easter Sunday, 14 April 1471, at the battle of Barnet more than twenty senior churchmen, servants of the crown and members of the gentry from across Northumberland added twenty seven seals to a deed endorsing James Horsley Delaval's claim to the Seaton Delaval estate as 'next of blode' to Elizabeth Burcester. The abbots of Newminster and Alnwick; priors of Tynemouth and Brinkburn; sheriff of Northumberland; master of Bamburgh and John Horsley of Ulchester were among those who confirmed that Dame Elizabeth and Sir John Burcester had granted the land to James' father in law, Robert Mitford, on the condition that when Elizabeth and John had died it passed to James and his wife, Margaret, Robert's daughter. They explained that after this Dame Elizabeth 'was variant, and through the labour and striving of ill disposed persons made a bargain with the Marquis of Mountagu' about the land. The Marquis, John Neville, being the Sheriff of Northumberland, and his deputy, Sir William Bowes, had James charged with felony. James appeared at Newcastle court and was not cleared of the alleged serious crime. He was sent to London and released to the Marquis 'for fear of life'. The Marquis took control of much of the estate. James was allowed to return to Seaton Delaval, but 'it was kept from him [by] a stronger hand'.<sup>(16)</sup>

John Horsley gave Ulchester manor to his son and male heir, John<sup>(14)</sup>, in 1471. John may have been the elder brother of James Horsley Delaval.<sup>(14)</sup> On 17 March 1472 King Edward IV gave William Horsley of Ulchester, Newtown, near Warenmouth as a reward for good service. Newtown had been the port of Bamburgh, but it had fallen into disuse as the trade and prosperity of Bamburgh declined.<sup>(14)</sup> On 6 July James Delaval confirmed the grant he had made in 1454 of manor of Benwell in his earlier name of Horsley. The grant was witnessed by eight people, including the Prior and sub Priors of Tynemouth and the vicar of Ponteland.<sup>(92)</sup> John Horsley of Scranwood paid Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland's bailiff an annual rent of 6s 6½d in 1472 at Alnham, north of Scranwood.<sup>(58)</sup>

On 9 July 1484 'James Delaval of Setone Delavale, esq., alias James Horsley, late of Seton Delavale, gentleman' received a pardon from King Richard III for all the offences he committed before 1 February.<sup>(16)</sup> William Horsley passed Newtown to trustees who sold it to Oliver Horsley.<sup>(14)</sup> Between 6 February 1489 to 6 January 1490 Sir William Horsley of Newcastle, chaplain was one of the trustees involved in property transfers for John Bellingham of Hirst, Woodhorn, near Morpeth.<sup>(4)</sup> On 24 August 1498 an inquest at Durham considering land and tenements in Crawcrook recognised that Giles Horsley was twenty years old and had a learning disability.<sup>(108)</sup>

On 1 December 1501 John Essington, a Newcastle merchant, made his will. He made arrangements for some of the prominent townsmen, including Thomas Horsley, to continue to overseeing the legacy left by John Ward in 1491, including almshouses.<sup>(110)</sup> Nicholas Horsley, the husband of Margaret (or Agnes) Grey, 'did homage' to his brother in law, Sir Ralph Grey, for his land at Ulchester on 27 September 1503. Nicholas may had sons or youngers brothers, Henry, Christopher and George. His rights to Ulchester manor were confirmed by royal grant, as the 'cousin and heir' of John Horsley who had been granted the manor by King Edward I.<sup>(14)</sup> Between 1504 and 1515 Edmund Horsley was involved in a legal case about the deeds of a messuage and land in Horsley.<sup>(111)</sup>

Thomas Horsley ('Horsly ost') was a member of the guild of Hostman who had the monopoly on the export of coal from Newcastle upon Tyne. Richertt Wyllflett, master of the 'Trinity', a ship from Hull, Yorkshire sailed into Newcastle with a ballast load of stone. When the ship left on 9 June 1508 with 28 chauldrons of coal the chamberlain of the borough of Newcastle charged Thomas a toll of 2s 4d and 4d for ballast dues. John Hykson, master of the 'Edmund', from Great Yarmouth, Norfolk arrived with 11 chaldrons of barley for Thomas. Thomas did not have to pay any toll for this as he was a freeman of Newcastle, but he had to pay 2s 2d for the chaldron bought in for John Robson and the 14 chaldrons of coal which the ship left with on 22 July 1508. Two days later Thomas was charged 13s 10d ('2d cancelled') for the 'Jamys' of Calais (Calles)'s ship cargo. John Gudwen, the ship's master, had sailed in with 18 chaldrons of barley; 12 of barley; 15 of wheat; 5 of malt and 1 of rye. The ship left with 44 chaldron of coal. The 'Trinity' of Hull returned with a different master, Stewyn Herrison, and another load of stone. Thomas was again billed 2s 4d for tolls and 4d for dues when she left with another 28 chauldrons of coal on 29 July. Allen Suddibe, master of the 'Germayn' of Grimsby, Lincolnshire arrived with stones. Thomas was charged 22d on 9 August 1508 when the ship went out with 22 chaldron of coal. A chamberlain paid Margaret Horsley 6d on 9 September for four loads of lime at the Westgate.<sup>(112)</sup>

Robert Horsley, who later lived in Acklington, south west of Warkworth, was born before 1509. He may have been the son of Thomas Horsley.<sup>(113)</sup> A survey of the border strongholds at the beginning of King Henry VIII's reign in 1509 noted that Thomas Horsley owned and lived in Scranwood, six miles from Teviotdale and sixteen from the Merse in Scotland. Roger Horsley owned and lived in Thernham, also six miles from Teviotdale and nineteen from the Merse in Scotland. Both Scranwood and Thernham were considered suitable for garrisoning twenty men.<sup>(114)</sup>

Thomas Horsley was charged a 10d toll on 17 April 1510 when John Maynnyng, master of the 'Trinity' of Great Yarmouth sailed out off Newcastle with 10 chauldrons of coal. Thomas was however charged 12½d when Maynnyng and the 'Trinity' sailed out on 25 July with another 10 chauldrons of coal. On 27 July the borough paid Thomas 6d for dredging Deyn brig and the channel in Pilgrim Street. William Lambert, master of the 'Mare Fortton' of King's Lynn, Norfolk came in with 27 ton of ballast and and sailed out with 36 chauldrons of coal on 20 November. Thomas was billed 10s 8d tolls and 4s 4½d dues. On Christmas Eve 1510 Thomas was paid 3s for wine for 'master William Percy' (possibly the second son of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland). Thomas was also paid for 3 gallons of white wine for the mayor of Newcastle and his brethren; wine for the 'Kyrk' (church) and claret wine for the mayor and his brethren, possibly as offerings to St John and St Peter churches.<sup>(112)</sup>

About 25 November 1510 Richard Horsley of Catton, south west of Thirsk, Yorkshire was taken from his mother's house in Catton to a field and attacked. Richard died about a month later from his wounds. Peter Swake and Roland Dale sought sanctuary in Durham cathedral on 23 December 1510 as they had been present when Horsley received the fatal wounds. They feared indictment as accessories.<sup>(115)</sup>

On 21 March 1511 the Newcastle chamberlains charged Thomas Horsley 7s 2d tolls and 4d ballast dues after John Acrys, master of the 'Anthony' ship from Blakeney, Norfolk had arrived with a load of stones and sailed out with 22 chauldrons of coal. Thomas paid 7s 8d tolls and 22½d dues after Jacob Bugyll, master of the 'Flour' of Dieppe (Depp) came in with 7 ton ballast and left on 5 April with 24 chauldrons of coal. On 19 July 1511 the chamberlains paid Thomas 9d for three days on the city walls (possibly for repairs).<sup>(112)</sup> In 1512 and 1513 Thomas Horsley, Sheriff of Northumberland<sup>(110)</sup> used a coat of arms of gules, three horses' heads erased argent.<sup>(95)</sup>

The English feared the French might besiege Calais. On 29 August 1512 Sir Hugh Conway, treasurer of Calais, paid William Horsley and John Holmes £200 for making serpentine powder (gunpowder).<sup>(116)</sup> On 29 November 1512 King Henry appointed commissioners of the peace in Northumberland including Sir Edward Radcliffe (Radcliff/Ratcliff/Ratclyff), his son, Cuthbert Radcliffe and Thomas Horsley.<sup>(117)</sup>

In July 1513 William Hilton (Hylton) of Hilton castle, County Durham borrowed armour and a banner from Durham cathedral which he promised to return. The armour had belonged to his late father, William, and may have been pledged as security for a loan.<sup>(118)</sup> The banner displayed the family coat of arms. William may have fought at the battle of Flodden on 9 September 1513.<sup>(119)</sup> William married Sibill (Sybill) Lumley<sup>(92)</sup> the daughter of Sir John Lumley of Lumley, County Durham and Elizabeth<sup>(95)</sup> or Margaret Plantagenet<sup>(120)</sup>, the daughter of King Edward IV<sup>(95)</sup>.

John Taytte assaulted James Horsley<sup>(110)</sup> on 10 December 1513 at Sandhill in Newcastle. James then stabbed John with a dagger in the chest and killed him. James was taken by the King's officials to Newgate prison in Durham, but escaped. He sought sanctuary in Durham cathedral on 20 May 1514.<sup>(115)</sup>

In 1513 William Horsley, yeoman was admitted as a freeman of the city of York.<sup>(121)</sup> On 14 August 1514 King Henry appointed William Horsley, Yeoman of the Guard, bailiff of the lordship of Cropton, near Pickering, Yorkshire for an annual fee of 30s. 4d. and of Skirpenbeck, near Stamford Bridge, Yorkshire for an annual fee of 33s. 4d. for life.<sup>(122)</sup> This appointment seems to have been confirmed again on 12 February 1518.<sup>(123)</sup>

On 18 October 1514 King Henry appointed Commissioners of the Peace including Sir Edward Radcliffe and Thomas Horsley, Mayor of Newcastle in Northumberland<sup>(110)</sup> and Sir William Bulmer in Yorkshire.<sup>(117)</sup> Thomas Horsley was mayor of Newcastle<sup>(110)</sup> and master of the Merchant Adventures in 1515.<sup>(124)</sup> Pope Leo X wrote from Rome on 23 September 1515 commanding some English bishops to take the oath of fealty, with the usual ceremonies, when the Cardinal's hat was placed on Thomas Wolsey's head. The letter was sent to 'Jas. Horsle, Newcastle - on - Tyne, alias of Gateshead, Durham dioc., alias of Westchevyngton, Northumberland' (possibly West Chevington, east of Longhorsley).<sup>(125)</sup>

Between 11 August and 7 September 1515 the Ordnance Accounts recorded that William Horsley and John Holmes were staying at Calais. They ordered 'saltpetre and gunpowder, 14 days, 13s. 4d. 11 last of empty barrels, 73s. 4d. Carriage of serpentine and organ guns from Guisnes/Guînes to Calais, 13 men, at 8d. a day. 2 cellars in Watergate Street, and 2 lofts, 14d. a week. 5 new barrel heads, and a new barrel for powder, 10d. Carriage of parcel of a mount from St. Omer's to Calais, 13s. 4d. Reward to 10 servants of Sir Richard Courtenay, for conducting a hoy laden with powder out of Flanders, and driven on to the English coast, 4s. 4d.—Total, £77 3s. 8d.'.<sup>(126)</sup> William Horsley was paid 8d a day by King Henry as a gunner under the recently appointed Master of Ordnance, William Skeffington, in December 1516.<sup>(127)</sup>

John Horsley<sup>(1)</sup> married the daughter of Edward Radcliffe (Radcliff/Ratcliff/Ratclyff)<sup>(128)</sup> and Ann Cartington.<sup>(92)</sup> She was the sister of Cuthbert Radcliffe and may have been called Martha or Mabel. John and Martha's only daughter was called Isabell<sup>(3)</sup> and their son, Cuthbert, was born before 1517.<sup>(129)</sup>

In March 1517 Thomas Horsley was appointed as one the commissioner of sewers<sup>(130)</sup> for the district of the Tyne, extending from 'Hidwyn stremes' to the sea.<sup>(110)</sup> On 2 April 1517 at Gorfen, between Morpeth and Horsley, Edward Horsley of Scranwood struck Christopher Clavering of Calyle with a sword whilst Christopher Horsley of Horsley attacked John Carr of Hetton with a sword and dagger. Clavering and Carr both died later that day. Edward and Christopher sought sanctuary in Durham cathedral on 10 April.<sup>(115)</sup>

Between 1518 and 1529 Nicholas Horsley, esquire of Ulchester went to court claiming that Agnes Leyrmowth (possibly Lermouth), a widow and Nicholas Swynbourn (possibly Swinburne), a merchant, who both lived in Newcastle, had kept the deeds of a manor, burgage dwellings and land in Bamburgh.<sup>(131)</sup> Around this time William Webster, the parson of Purley, (probably Purleigh) claimed that John Webster, gentleman and Edmund Horsley, Yeoman of the Guard were holding deeds, profits arising from and household stuff which belonged to his parsonage.<sup>(132)</sup> Thomas Horsley was mayor of Newcastle again in 1519 and 1520, and governor of the Merchants' Company.<sup>(110)</sup>

In 1519 Nicholas Horsley, tailor was admitted as freeman of the city of York.<sup>(121)</sup> William Horsley was appointed as a gunner in the Tower of London in April 1519 and paid 6d. a day.<sup>(133)</sup> On 10 April 1521 William Horsley, Yeoman of the Guard was granted a lease, for twenty one years, for property in Cropton which had annual rents amounting to £4. 1s. 3d. and 2s. of increase.<sup>(134)</sup>

Thomas, Lord Dacre wrote to Cardinal Wolsey on 24 January 1522 with proposals about how to defend the border with Scotland. He listed castles and towers where men should be based and paid wages, including sixteen men with John Horsley at Scranwood.<sup>(20)</sup> John was one of the 'gentlemen' in Northumberland retained 'by fee' because of his 'ability to do the King service' and 'other qualities'. He could serve the King providing thirty horsemen and was 'a true wise borderer'. Scranwood was four miles from Scotland and three from Redesdale. John received £10 income a year 'from his father's land' and an annual £10 fee from the King's 'Lord of Northumberland', Henry Percy. Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe of Dilston, ten miles from Scotland and six from Tynedale, was able to spend 300 marks a year and serve the King by providing eighty horsemen. 'He keepeth a good house, and is a true gentleman.'<sup>(114)</sup> On 20 February 1522 widow Jane Cartington made her will at Cartington, north west of Rothbury, in the presence of Thomas Manners; Lord Ros, warden of the East and Middle Marches; Sir Anthony Ughtred, captain of Berwick; Sir William Paston; Sir Ralph Ellerker and John Horsley, esquire. She left Cartington to her daughter and son in law, Anne and Edward Radcliffe and her lands for her grandson, Cuthbert Radcliffe.<sup>(135)</sup> Sir William Paston of Norfolk was treasurer for the army on the Scottish border.<sup>(136)</sup>

In May 1522 King Henry appointed Edmund Horsley, Yeoman of the Guard, keeper of Newhall park, Essex, with 3d. a day pay from the lordship of Boreham, Essex.<sup>(137)</sup> On 26 July 1522 Edward Horsley of Scranwood, Northumberland and Sockburn, near Darlington, bishopric of Durham and Christopher Horsley, soldier of Horsley, Northumberland, Sockburn and Berwick were pardoned for the murder of John Carr of Hetton and Christopher Clavering of Calalye, Northumberland.<sup>(138)</sup>

Thomas Horsley and one hundred men from Skelton, Alburgh and Halnaghby (possibly Halnaby, near Cleveland) joined the forces of William, Lord Conyers of Hornby, Yorkshire to march towards Carlisle on 14 September 1522. John Stewart, Duke of Albany, the young King James V of Scotland's regent, had crossed the western English border.<sup>(139)</sup> The Scottish troops however did not wish to risk another defeat, like Flodden, and agreed a truce.

Thomas Horsley, who was possibly the father of Robert Horsley,<sup>(113)</sup> was constable of Warkworth castle in 1523.<sup>(20)</sup> Thomas had a lime kiln built near the castle and two thousand stones delivered from Birling quarry to continue repair work.<sup>(140)</sup> Alan Horsley was an agister looking after the livestock gazing in Acklington Park, south west of Warkworth in 1523.<sup>(140)</sup> King Henry mobilized his fleet in April 1523. A squadron patrolled the east coast to stop French troops going to Scotland. Between February and October William Horsley was captain of the King's ship, 'the Mary and John', and received wages for 146 men.<sup>(141)</sup>

Lord Thomas Dacre wrote to Cardinal Wolsey on 26 June 1523 telling him that planned to ride into Scotland to burn Kelso, including the abbey towers. Over a thousand men, including the garrison and local men, would meet at Howtell Swyre, near Wooler on Monday 29 June, at 4 o'clock in the morning. The leaders would include Sir William Percy; Sir William Bulmer; Baron Hilton with his tenants of Astonmore; Cuthbert Radcliffe and Nicholas Horsley of Ulchester.<sup>(142)</sup> On 3 July 1523 Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey told Cardinal Wolsey he had seen the seamen in Hull. He recommended that the Vice Admiral sent 'The Mary and John' and 'The Spaynard' ships 'to these parts'.<sup>(143)</sup>

In August 1523 William Eure, John Widdrington, Cuthbert Radcliffe, John Horsley and Lionel Gray signed their proposals for reforming the government of the East and Middle Marches and the justice system in Northumberland 'for the common wealth and quietness of the King's true subjects'. They listed the names of trespassers and the Scots who pastured sheep in the Marches. They recognised that the Scots were more unwilling to do justice as their officers of the East Marches would only meet the English officers on Scottish ground. Harbottle and Wark castle needed repair. The chief dungeon at Wark let in the rain. The Scots and people living in Carham were cutting the corn sown by the constable of Wark, pretending it was 'general ground'. They recommended that the sheriffs in Northumberland were pardoned and replaced by 'substantial men'. The keepers of Tynedale and Redesdale needed sufficient security so the Marches could be properly kept and administered. The keeper of Tynedale should be bailiff of Hexham. All people harbouring thieves should be taken to London and appear before the Council. Four sessions should be held every year. Some 'great and discreet nobleman' should be made warden of the East and Middle Marches. He should live in Northumberland and 'keep all men in their duty'.<sup>(144)</sup>

Robert Horsley was admitted to Lincoln's Inn, London on 30 November 1523 to receive legal education.<sup>(113)</sup> Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey ordered the men of Tynedale, including Edward and Christopher Horsley, to swear an oath in early December 1523 agreeing to 'assist the King's officers to execute justice in Tynedale' and 'be of good bearing to all the King's subjects till the Feast of the Purification 1525' (probably 2 February 1525). They were to appear before Lord Dacre, Sir William Bulmer, Sir William Eure or Sir Ralph Fenwick.<sup>(145)</sup>

On 29 December Lord Dacre had to write to John Carr and John Clavering reminding them that he had ordered Lord Robert Ogle to try to help them and the Horsleys end their disagreements. Dacre was concerned that that he had heard that Clavering had not however done this 'thankfully, with a free will'. He asked them if they meant to keep their part of the agreement so he could inform Thomas Howard and the Horsleys.<sup>(146)</sup> On 15 January 1524 Lord Thomas Dacre advised Thomas Howard from Morpeth that there were great differences between what the Horsleys, Claverings and Carrs said about two murders and the Claverings and Carrs were not following the agreement.<sup>(147)</sup>

King Henry granted William Horsley, Yeoman of the Guard, the lease of the lordship of Cropton for 21 years for £36 rent in March 1524. It was a parcel of the lordship of Sheriff Hutton, north Yorkshire.<sup>(148)</sup> On 30 June 1524 John Horsley was in Edward Guildford, Lord Warden of the Cinque Port's retinue of men at the south coast port of Sandwich, Kent.<sup>(149)</sup>

Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland had appointed Edward Radcliffe constable of Warkworth when Thomas Horsley left because of a dispute. However on 16 June 1524 the Earl gave a verbal order from his home in Petworth, Sussex that Radcliffe's fee should be stopped. John Dent of Newcastle was fined 100s. for releasing various people that Thomas Horsley had captured. Horsley was constable again later in the summer and got Warkworth castle's great hall ready for Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. Horsley arranged for a plumber to cover the castle's roofs, including the towers. The 'ground work' of the stone wall was cleared and 'riddled'. William Mason was paid the large sum of £6 6s. 8d. for masonry work. Three loads of timber were brought from Shilbottle wood to make windows for the chapel in the donjon castle keep. On 4<sup>th</sup> September the Duke negotiated the truce with Scotland at Berwick.<sup>(140)</sup>

Thomas Horsley was governor of the Merchants' Company in 1524 and mayor of Newcastle from 1524 to 1526. In September 1524 Thomas and other Newcastle alderman were involved in overseeing the Trinity House Guild and its property.<sup>(110)</sup> During this time more than one hundred and twenty tenants of Aldeburgh and Snape Priory, Suffolk petitioned Thomas Horsley, Mayor and Robert Brandling, Sheriff of Newcastle. The Suffolk men claimed that they had an ancient agreement that exempted their ships from paying customs on the coal they bought from Newcastle and duties on the herrings, sprats, soap, and salt they sold there. They also did not have to pay if they had to leave ballast or stay in Newcastle harbour to repair their ships.<sup>(150)</sup> Aldeburgh merchants explained that their town had belonged to the prior of Ely and by the liberty of St. Awdry (Audrey/Ethelreda) was allowed to trade without paying customs duty in any part of England. The Newcastle mayor and sheriff however charged them 12d. for the first shovelful of ballast they discharged and 3d. for every succeeding ton; 20d. for the conduct of their ships and boats; 2d. for every chalder (cauldron) of coals they bought, and 1d. a chalder for the 'imposition thereof'; 12d. a chalder for grindstones; 12d. for other merchandise, and tolls for any goods they brought with them. The merchants said their town was 'poor and grievously impoverished by these exactions'. They had twenty ships and a hundred mariners ready to serve the king, and had rescued about 'twenty sail pursued by French and Scots'. Finally they said the Aldeburgh beach was very suitable for an army to land if it was not defended by the town.

Robert Brandling and 'Harry' Anderson, replied on behalf of the Newcastle mayor, Thomas Horsley, and the burgesses, saying that the 'complaint could be pursued at common law, and proceeds from malice'. They said they did not know that Aldeburgh had ancient rights and noted that 'Newcastle has always been the king's chief port and safeguard, and the following tolls have always been paid', including by people of Aldeburgh. The tolls were used to pay for the King's farm at Newcastle, the bridge over the main river and haven, and the timber for the ballast shore which cost about £300 a year. They asked to see 'any record in the book of domesday' that Aldeburgh had privileges.<sup>(110)</sup>

Thomas Horsley, Mayor of Newcastle, and the husband of Johanna, made his will in about 1525. Thomas left all his land and tenements in Newcastle to establish a free school on the north east of St. Nicholas' church yard; now Newcastle Royal Grammar School. He left instructions that the school should have a 'priest or master, profoundly learned, and instructed in grammar'.<sup>(110)</sup> Thomas followed the example of Cardinal Wolsey who had founded a school in his Suffolk home town of Ipswich. On 11 August 1525 King Henry appointed Thomas Horsley a Commissioner of the Peace for Northumberland.<sup>(151)</sup>

At Michaelmas, September 1525 John Horsley received payments from Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland's bailiff of Thirston, north east of Longhorsley.<sup>(4)</sup> On Wednesday 7 April 1527 Thomas Horsley paid John Wateson, hermit, a part payment of £13 6s. 8d., for the wardship of John Carr.<sup>(152)</sup> On 2 February 1527 John Lassells (Lasselles) was Thomas Horsley of Newcastle's apprentice. John was later admitted to the Merchants' Company and became a sword bearer of the Corporation of Newcastle.<sup>(153)</sup>

On 6 July 1527 King Henry granted Edmund Horsley a tenement called 'Deyhouse' in Boreham, Essex.<sup>(154)</sup> In 1528 Thomas Horsley was granted 45s. 10d. for looking after hostages who were held as security for the good behaviour of the men of North Tyne.<sup>(140)</sup> In December 1528 John Horsley received £10 as one of three deputy wardens of the Middle Marches. Sir John Delaval was granted £6 13s. 4d. as one of the gentleman of Northumberland, whilst Cuthbert Radcliffe, esquire received 100s. and Roger Horsley, gentleman, 40s..<sup>(155)</sup> Cuthbert Radcliffe was elected as the Member of Parliament for Northumberland in 1529.<sup>(156)</sup>

Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland reported to Cardinal Wolsey that Edward Horsley, Wolsey's bailiff of Hexham, had on 28 January 1529 led the chase and captured rebels who had raided the Bishopric of Durham and taken a priest as their prisoner.<sup>(157)</sup> On 22 June 1529 Edward Grey of Chillingham, and John Grey of Heton were outlawed following charges made by Nicholas Horsley of Ulchester, even though Nicholas' wife was Margaret Grey, the sister of Sir Ralph Grey of Chillingham.<sup>(14)</sup> Nicholas was involved in a court case about Ulchester manor with a group of men between 22 April 1509 and 28 January 1547.<sup>(158)</sup>

On 12 May 1530 King Henry told the Sheriff of Yorkshire not to allow the executors of Thomas Dalby, Archdeacon of Richmond and one of the justices of the peace in Northumberland to 'meddle with his lands and chattels'. The King ordered the Sheriff and others, including Thomas Horsley, to look at the records so they could speedily collect the moneys for the King's benefit.<sup>(159)</sup> Sir William Bulmer, Sir William Hilton, Sir Edward Radcliffe and Thomas Horsley were among the men appointed as commissioners of peace in Northumberland in February 1531.<sup>(160)</sup> An inquest at Durham on 3 October 1531 noted that Giles Horsley was now fourty years old and had a learning disability. Giles held land and tenements in Crawcrook.<sup>(108)</sup>

Cuthbert Horsley was admitted to Lincoln's Inn on 2 November 1531.<sup>(129)</sup> One 'Horsele' at Lincoln's Inn, London paid a 12d. fine 'for keeping court in the hall with Mr. Brewse in vacation to the disturbance of the society'.<sup>(161)</sup>

On 7 January 1532 Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland appointed Robert Horsley<sup>(113)</sup> to be the keeper of Warkworth castle gates at an annual salary of 60s. 8d.; the seneschal in charge of the domestic arrangements of the castle, including the servants, at 26s. 8d., and superintendent of the park paling fence at 13s. 4d.<sup>(140)</sup> Sir William Bulmer, Sir William Hilton, Cuthbert Radcliffe and Thomas Horsley were appointed commissioners of the peace in Northumberland in March 1532.<sup>(162)</sup> John Horsley and John Almoner, mariner, made a statement in September 1532 about a 'hoy' boat being wrecked on the North sands, near the Kent coast. It was laden with beer sailing to Calais.<sup>(163)</sup>

The acting mayor of Newcastle and six of the town's aldermen, including Thomas Horsley, wrote to Thomas Cromwell, Master of the King's Jewel House on 29 September 1532 asking for help. They recalled how the town's election process had been established by the king and his council because there had been great divisions between the burgesses in the past. Some offenders had been imprisoned in the Tower of London for a long time. They told Cromwell that they were now unable to elect a mayor and officers as some of the former sheriffs and mayors of the town would not take part.<sup>(110)</sup>

On 6 October 1532 Cromwell issued a warrant at Greenwich for 100 yards of black damask and 2 yards of velvet to be delivered to Horsley (first name unknown, possibly Edward) and 11 yards of black velvet to Edward Egleby (possibly Aglionby) 'by way of reward, for their costs, to wait upon us' on the intended voyage of King Henry and Anne Boleyn to Calais.<sup>(164)</sup> On 1 December 1532 King Henry's secretary, Sir Brian Tuke, paid Edward Aglionby of Carlisle and Edward Horsley £183 8s. in Calais to give one hundred 'Northern men' a reward of 3d. a day each and one month's wages.<sup>(165)</sup>

Nicholas Horsley was listed on the Sheriff roll for Northumberland in November 1532 and received a grant from King Henry.<sup>(166)</sup> Thomas Horsley was a farmer in Acklington Park in 1532.<sup>(140)</sup> Between 1533 and 1538 Thomas Horsley raised a complaint in court against Sir John Heron about the tithe corn of Warkworth and Birling. Horsley and Heron both claimed to be constable of Warkworth castle.<sup>(167)</sup> Thomas Horsley, Governor of the Merchants' Company, was elected Mayor of Newcastle in 1533 and served until Michaelmas 1534.<sup>(110)</sup>

Between 1532 and 1538 Thomas Horsley and his wife, Elizabeth, the widow and executor of William Conyers, had to defend a court case. William's brother, Richard Conyers, a gentleman from Northallerton, Yorkshire claimed that their father William Conyers' legacy was payable out of a farm in Kirkby Fleetham, near Northallerton.<sup>(168)</sup> In 1514 Sir John Metham had let Elizabeth and her late husband, William Conyers, Kirby Fleetham manor and its lands for forty one years. However Metham soon granted the lease to William Belforth. In 1529 Belforth complained in court that Elizabeth and 'twelve other evil disposed persons' had gone to the manor to try to drive him out. Elizabeth told the court that Kirkby had been leased to her and her husband for forty one years. After she was widowed, Belforth had tried to force her to marry him by getting Metham to grant him the lease.<sup>(169)</sup>

On Monday 3 February 1533 Sir George Lawson, treasurer of Berwick garrison,<sup>(170)</sup> wrote to Cromwell from Warkworth. Lawson reported that Sir Thomas Wharton, Sir Ralph Fenwick, Reynold Carnaby and John Horsley raided the estate of Scott of Buccleugh (an ancestor of the writer, Sir Walter Scott) in west Teviotdale, Scotland. Lawson told Cromwell that the Laird of Buccleugh 'has always been a common thief and maintainer of theft. They have burnt his granges and steads of corn to his gates, with two towns adjoining, and taken 400 head of cattle, 40 or 60 prisoners, and as many horses, and have come home in safety. Nothing like it has been done so far with such a company.'<sup>(171)</sup> George was the son of William Lawson<sup>(128)</sup> of Cramlington, near Seaton Delaval, and the daughter of a Horsley<sup>(172)</sup> of Thernham.<sup>(173)</sup> Sir Thomas Wharton was staying at Warkworth castle and helping Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland with his military duties. He was allowed to run his horses in Acklington Park.<sup>(140)</sup>

Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland advised King Henry on Saturday 26 April 1533 that two hundred Scots had invaded England 'after the day star was up' and burnt a lot of land around Alnwick, but returned without taking prisoners or goods. Percy then sent Robert Bowes, John Horsley and George Fenwick to raid Scotland. He followed with more men and burned and harried much 'between the waters'. They had took many prisoners and cattle without losing any English men.<sup>(174)</sup> John Horsley was made a knight of the Sword after the coronation of Queen Anne (Boleyn) on Saturday 30 June 1533.<sup>(175)</sup> Between 1533 and 1538 John Horsley claimed in court that Gabriel Foster, gentleman was holding the deeds of property in Ulchester, Elwick and Bamburgh manors.<sup>(176)</sup>

The Scottish ambassadors involved in negotiating a truce on 1 October 1533 at Newcastle stayed at Warkworth castle. Robert Horsley purchased horse bread and oats for their horses.<sup>(140)</sup> On 7 October 1533 Cuthbert Ogle, priest had to ask Cromwell for help when Nicholas Horsley, Sheriff of Northumberland would not give Ogle £40 which Cromwell had asked King Henry to give Ogle.<sup>(177)</sup>

On 3 February 1534 Nicholas Horsley of Ulchester, the husband of Margaret Grey, complained to the Court of Star Chamber that on 12 May 1533 eight or nine people, including Sir Robert Ellerker's servants, had assembled at Horsley's Ulchester manor with 'bowes, arrowes, long staves, swordes, and buckelers'. They had 'riotously' fished ponds and several waters and taken about a thousand perches and other fish from Horsley's estate to Ellerker.<sup>(14)</sup> In about 1531 Sir Robert Ellerker had married Anne Gower, the widow of Margaret's uncle, Edward Grey of Chillingham.<sup>(178)</sup> On 15 May Horsley accused Ellerker of ordering his men to take two horses and one ox from one of Horsley's tenants, so Ellerker could use the animals. Horsley said Ellerker was taking goods from Horsley's tenants and farmers every day, so they felt they would have to leave their homes.<sup>(14)</sup> Between 1533 and 1538 Nicholas Horsley, esquire complained that Ellerker was keeping the deeds of property in Ulchester manor and owed him money, including for rents.<sup>(179)</sup>

Lord William Dacre wrote to his wife in March 1534 saying that John Horsley had been to see him and knew that Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland was 'much displeased with him'. Dacre suggested to his wife that Thomas Dacre and others should ride over and pull down all the 'intakkes' Horsley had made in 'Horsley forest'. Dacre recommended that John Lisle should take over as the bailwick (bailiff) of the forest.<sup>(180)</sup> Edward Horsley had a room in Lord William Dacre's house at Naworth, Cumberland on 16 May 1534.<sup>(181)</sup>

Between 1533 and 1538 William Horsley went to court complaining that John Gale, yeoman was keeping the deeds of a messuage and closes in Galtres forest, north of York. Horsley said that his servant had obtained the deeds by false pretences. Gale said the property had been purchased on his account.<sup>(182)</sup> In the Michaelmas court term 1534 Christopher Wandisforth, Robert and George Horsley transferred a fourth part of Swainby (Swaynby) manor, north west of Northallerton, Yorkshire to Roger Lassels, esquire.<sup>(183)</sup>

On 26 November 1535 William Strother, Lord of Newton (Kirknewton, near Wooler) granted Edmund Horsley, gentlemen and five other people some property including East and West Kirknewton, Lanton (Langtoun) and Moneylawes (Monylawes) 'with release of Duddene tenement' which the late Sir William Heron, Lord of Ford, had held paying 26s. 8d. each year.<sup>(184)</sup> William Strother married a daughter of Edmund Horsley.<sup>(185)</sup>

During 1536 Brinkburn monastery on the river Coquet was valued in the Valor Ecclesiasticus as a poor priory with an income of only £68 19s. 1d.. So like other monasteries with an income of under £200 it was closed.<sup>(186)</sup> The accounts of King Henry's bailiff and collector of the rents for the former priory of Brinkburn recorded that between Michaelmas 1535 and 1536 John Horsley of Horsley had 'by ancient custom' paid the priory tithes. His son, Cuthbert Horsley, now leased the property and must pay the rent.<sup>(4)</sup> William Horsley was renting a house in Sutton on the Forest, north Yorkshire belonging to Marton priory, Yorkshire when the priory was closed in 1536.<sup>(187)</sup>

The Bishop of Durham fled Bishop Auckland in mid October 1536 because local men were joining the 'Pilgrimage of Grace' protests about King Henry's religious reforms and economic issues. Thomas Hilton warned his cousin, John Lumley, to get to a safe place when he heard this. John and his son, George left Lumley castle, County Durham with their jewels and plate and went in the night to John's house in Newcastle<sup>(188)</sup>. Thomas left Hilton castle and joined them in Newcastle on 18 October. He tried to persuade John to return with him to Hilton castle. They however joined men from Durham and marched south with the monks at carrying the banner of St. Cuthbert<sup>(189)</sup>. George went from Newcastle to his father's house, called the 'Isle'. Soldiers arrived and told him to go and join Lord Latimer and the rebels or they would spoil his father's goods. He did not see his father, John Lumley and Thomas Hilton, until he was on the heath at Doncaster<sup>(188)</sup>. Thomas was among the men chosen by the rebels to negotiate with Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk on Doncaster bridge<sup>(190)</sup> at noon on Friday 27 October. Thomas Hilton was a member of the council which met at Pontefract in November and December. The council sent the protesters' grievances to King Henry by the Duke of Norfolk and considered the King's response<sup>(191)</sup>.

On 6 February 1537 Sir Anthony Browne reported to King Henry that he had met members of the Council of the Marches at Berwick, including John Horsley and his brother in law, Cuthbert Radcliffe. They advised the King about who he should not appoint during the unsettled time as it was sure to cause disorder. They recognised that every family in Northumberland had a blood enemy and a sworn ally, so each gentlemen made a new oath to the King.<sup>(192)</sup> They all agreed that the Tynedale and Redesdale reivers were making the borders 'so sore that many are weary of their lives'.<sup>(188)</sup> John Horsley also advised Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk about lawless in Redesdale and Tynedale and corresponded with King Henry's chief minister, Cromwell, on border matters.<sup>(193)</sup>

George Lumley was convicted of treason because of his involvement in the rebellion and was executed on 2 June 1537<sup>(191)</sup>. Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk however gained confidence in Thomas Hilton<sup>(189)</sup>. Thomas's younger brother, William Hilton, married Margaret Metcalfe, the daughter of James Metcalfe of Nappa hall, near Askrigg, Wensleydale, Yorkshire<sup>(92)</sup>. William and Margaret sometimes lived at Biddick, near Washington, between Newcastle and Durham<sup>(118)</sup>. Margaret's sister, Agnes Metcalfe had married John Widdrington of Widdrington castle (between Warkworth and Newbiggin) on 26 January 1537<sup>(128)</sup>.

Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk wrote to Cromwell on 7 July 1537 saying he 'desires him to be good lord to John Horseley' who was delivering the Duke's letters as he 'is one of the best defenders of Northumberland: where he and Robert à Colyngwode (Collingwood) dwell there has been no hurt done in all the time of this business with Lyddersdale.'<sup>(194)</sup> John Widdrington was made deputy warden of the Middle Marches and would receive 200 marks. Ten men were appointed to assist him including Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe and Sir John Delaval at £20 each and John Horsley at £13 6s. 8d. It was also noted that John Horsley had Bamburgh castle and 20 marks a year.<sup>(195)</sup> Cromwell also wrote a draft letter telling the Duke of Norfolk that 'As the King has given the keeping of Bamborough castle to the bearer, Master Horseley, and his Grace is informed that it is in great decay, his pleasure is that your Lordship cause one or two of the Council there to ride thither and report what repairs are needful to make it habitable.'<sup>(196)</sup>

Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk wrote to Cromwell in October 1537 saying 'My Lord, I require you to be good lord to John Horsley, to be sheriff of Northumberland, according as I spoke to you this day. Yours assuredly, T. Norffolk.'<sup>(197)</sup> In November John Horsley; his brother in law, Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe and Robert Collingwood were listed on the Sheriff roll for Northumberland.<sup>(198)</sup>

On 28 December 1537 King Henry appointed John Horsley steward, receiver, constable and door ward of the castle and lordship of Bamburgh after Lord Thomas Darcy was executed for treason. Darcy had handed over Pontefract castle to the Pilgrimage of Grace rebels who were protesting about King Henry's church reforms. John Horsley was granted the right to fish in the river Tweed in the waters belonging to Berwick castle and lordship, after the death of Sir William Tyler, captain of Berwick.<sup>(199)</sup> John's bill was agreed on a border truce day in 1537 for a principal horse to be delivered; a horse 12 noble coins; another 5 noble coins and a mere for 20s..<sup>(200)</sup> His son, Cuthbert Horsley, was called to the bar to Lincoln's Inn, London in 1537.<sup>(161)</sup>

King Henry appointed Edmund Horsley keeper of the rabbit warren in Boreham in 1536 and on 2 December 1537 deputy keeper of Beaulieu park, Essex.<sup>(154)</sup> In March 1537 John Horsseley of the Downes (English Channel) complained to King Henry that he had had herrings, hagbushes (heavy hand guns), arrows, beer and other goods taken by the Admiral of Sluys and his Flemish followers. Men from Sandwich, Ramsgate, Deal, Hythe and Foulston were complaining of losses.<sup>(201)</sup>

John Horsley had a dispute with John Ogle and other people about a tenement in Milburn Grange, Milbourne (west of Shotton) between 1536 and 1548.<sup>(202)</sup> Around this time Edmund Horsley took Mark Foster to court about land in Warenford, south east of Bamburgh.<sup>(203)</sup> Randall Horsley raised a complaint in court against George Clough about a messuage in Bramham, south of Wetherby, Yorkshire between 1536 and 1544.<sup>(204)</sup> Agnes Horsley took William Horsley to court about meadows around Skirpenbeck.<sup>(205)</sup> George Horsley and Christopher Stockdale had a dispute about Topcliffe great park, south of Thirsk, Yorkshire<sup>(206)</sup>.

In spring 1538 King Henry commissioned the Council of the North to report on the condition and military worth of five castles in Northumberland; Harbottle, Alnwick, Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh and Warkworth.<sup>(20)</sup> Richard Bellysys (Belasyse/Bellasis), Robert Collingwood and John Horsley, esquires reported that the castles did not need repairs or a garrison of more than a constable and about fifty men. The Council realised that people in Northumberland would have to pay for the repairs and forces, when they were already struggling financially.<sup>(207)</sup>

After receiving the Council's report King Henry was surprised to hear that John Horsley, commander of Bamburgh, had written to Thomas Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal from Newcastle on 26 February 1538. Horsley hoped that Cromwell would hear how 'Bamburgh, of which I have the rule' is to be repaired and 'I beseech you to have your tender respect towards its reparations.' Horsley had also written to the King's secretary, Thomas Wriothesley (later 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Southampton) thanking him for his kindness when he was last in London. He told Wriothesley he had delivered his letters to the Archbishop of York on the 12<sup>th</sup> January. Horsley asked Wriothesley what he should do until Bamburgh castle, 'where he has the rule' is repaired as it 'is in such decay that there is neither lodging for man nor horse, door, window or house that is dry'.<sup>(208)</sup> King Henry then ordered that the castles were examined and certificates of repair issued. Robert Horsley surveyed Dunstanburgh castle and reported to King Henry on its condition.<sup>(113)</sup>

On 11 March 1538 Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe<sup>(209)</sup>; Sir Thomas Hilton (Hylton)<sup>(209)</sup>; his brother, Sir William Hilton<sup>(209)</sup>; Robert Horsley<sup>(113)</sup> and Cuthbert Horsley<sup>(129)</sup> were appointed Commissioners of the Peace for Northumberland.<sup>(209)</sup> Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe, constable of the King's castle of Alnwick and Robert Collingwood recorded the roll for the muster ordered on 1 March on 12 and 13 April 1538. Sir Cuthbert and his sixteen household servants, including Edward Radcliffe, were at Alnwick. John Horsley of Morwick (Morricks), 'belonging to Warkworth', had an able horse. From Lucken Edward Horsley was 'able with horse and harnes', whilst Thomas and William Horsley were 'able' but 'wanting horse and harnes'. William Horsley of Netherton, upper Coquet Dale, had a horse and harness. Sande Horsley of 'Farxelawe' was 'not able'. Sir Reynold Carnarby recorded that on 19 April George and Giles Horsley of Mykle, west of Crawcrook, had no horses or harnesss. On 21 April Sir William Eure, captain of the King's town and castle of Berwick and John Horsley, captain of the King's castle of Bamburgh held a muster on Fleetham moor (Fleetham, south of Bamburgh), which included five of Horsley's servants and some Scotsmen from Beadnell and Fleetham.<sup>(210)</sup>

Robert Collingwood and John Horsley reported to Cromwell on 3 May 1538 that despite the letters sent by King Henry's deputy warden of the Middle Marches to the King and Council of Scotland and the 'fair words of the Scots' the Scottish warden would not discuss the unrest being caused by the Scots of Liddesdale. They told Cromwell that outlaws were still in Tynedale and the head of the reiver family of the surname Hall. Most would not come to the court held at Harbottle castle on the Monday after Low Sunday (the Sunday after Easter). People from Tynedale and Redesdale were attacking one another. They were also holding meetings pretending to sort out wrong doings, but 'in reality' were making 'a league against their keepers'.<sup>(211)</sup> Collingwood and Horsley continued to tell Cromwell that one hundred and twenty men from Teviotdale and the Merse Scottish border were ready to sail to France to bring Mary of Guise, the new wife of King James, to Scotland. They ended reminding Cromwell that Bamburgh and Wark upon Tweed castles needed repairing.<sup>(211)</sup> Sir John Widdrington, deputy warden of Middle Marches received a bill dated 9 May 1538 from John Horsley and a £3 4s. bill for supplying John with sixteen sheep.<sup>(212)</sup>

On Friday, probably 20 May 1538 John Horsley arrested Robert Ogle, vicar of West Lilburn, south of Wooler. Horsley took Ogle to Sir Thomas Clifford, the captain of Berwick castle. Horsley and Clifford questioned Edward Bradford about the murder of John Anysley, captain of Norham. On 24 May Robert Horsley and Clifford were among the men who witnessed Bradford's statement saying that Lionel Grey, porter of Berwick, had been planning Anysley's murder.<sup>(213)</sup> There was an ongoing feud between the Greys and Cliffords.<sup>(113)</sup>

On 6 July 1538 King Henry granted Edmund Horsley the lease of a tenement called Le Deyhouse, in Boreham, Essex.<sup>(154)</sup> In July 1538 King Henry ordered and paid John Horsley 100s for the 'sure conveyance' of Henry Litherland (Lytherland), vicar of Newark upon Trent and Thomas Miller (Milner), formerly Lancaster Herald, to court in York.<sup>(214)</sup> Litherland had been preaching sermons opposing King Henry's religious reforms.<sup>(209)</sup> Miller was accused of misconduct at time of the Pilgrimage of Grace protests.<sup>(215)</sup> Both were found guilty of treason.<sup>(216)</sup> They were executed on about 2 August 1538. Miller's head was hung on Clifford Tower beside the leader of the Lincolnshire rising, Robert Aske.<sup>(217)</sup> Sir John Widdrington, deputy warden of Middle Marches received a bill dated 30 August 1538 from Roger Horsley.<sup>(212)</sup>

Many Tynedale men had refused to make new pledges to King Henry and had assembled with the outlaws. On Sunday 15 September 1538 Sir Reynold Carnaby wrote to the Council of the North in York saying he had arranged for Widdrington, deputy warden of the Middle Marches and other Northumberland gentry to meet at midnight on Friday 13th to go into Tynedale. The force included Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe, deputy of the lordship of Alnwick with fourty horsemen; Sir John Delaval with twenty horsemen and Nicholas Horsley of Ulchester with five horsemen. John Horsley, Sheriff was going to be absent, but would send fourty horsemen. The Tynedale men had however followed the order to go home and would meet Carnaby on Monday 16th. Carnaby asked the Council whether the Northumberland gentry and horsemen should burn houses and corn in Tynedale if there was no agreement.<sup>(218)</sup> On Tuesday 17th Carnaby asked Cromwell to write to the wardens and pensioners of the East and Middle Marches, including Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe, William Strother and John Horsley, to get them to find a hundred men to raid Tynedale and 'repress the outlaws'.<sup>(196)</sup> On 21 September the Council thanked Sir Reynold Carnaby for capturing and holding some of the Tynedale men in Warkworth castle. They hoped that he could also 'trap' some of the outlaws named by the Council and John Horsley.<sup>(188)</sup>

Thomas Cromwell asked the Lord President of the Council of the North and Bishop of Llandaff, Robert Holgate, to advise him about the characters of the officers of the Borders. On 11 January 1539 Holgate wrote to Cromwell and told him that when John Horsley was Sheriff of Northumberland and in charge of the court and jail Horsley had followed the command of the justices of the peace. This had resulted in a man being wrongly executed, while the murderer and two accomplices were let off. Holgate said he 'Thinks he should be reprimanded for so doing'.<sup>(219)</sup> On 29 January Sir William Eure, captain of Berwick reported to Cromwell that John Horsley was one of the men who advised Sir John Widdrington, deputy warden of the English Middle Marches, to send Robert Collingwood to meet Sir John Campbell and other members of the council of Scotland and Andrew Carr, warden of the Middle Marches of Scotland. The Scots had given Widdrington letters promising 'no injury should be done in the Marches without redress being made'.<sup>(220)</sup> In February King Henry's papers included a note 'To write to Horseley to look well to Bamborowe castle.'<sup>(221)</sup>

On 12 March 1539 Thomas Horsley and twenty eight men from Kirkby Fleetham and Fencotes, near Northallerton, Yorkshire were ready with armour if called by King Henry.<sup>(222)</sup> The certificate of muster taken by the mayor and sheriff of Newcastle on 27 March 1539 named 1,097 townsmen who were ready to serve King Henry. Thomas Horsley, alderman and his four wards were listed first. Thomas' wards had a total of eight constables and provided a total of 251 men. 'Mr. Horsley' and three of his servants had 'iakes, 'salletts' (helmets) and halberd pike weapons. Robert Horsley was in Thomas' ward and had a 'iake', 'sallett' and 'halbert'. There was five other alderman, each with four wards and constables. In 'Gownier Tower' ward (Gunner Tower, near West Gate), Barnard Horsley, possibly the servant of Roger Pawtenson, a cordainer, had a bill.<sup>(110)</sup> Sir William Eure, captain of Berwick and John Horsley, captain of Bamburgh, held a muster on Fleetham Moor on 21 April. John and his five servants were able men with horse and harness.<sup>(222)</sup>

Thomas Horsley was one of six yeomen, grooms and messengers of the King's Chamber who were paid in July 1539 a total of 13s. for riding by command of the Council.<sup>(223)</sup> The Council of the North arrived at Newcastle on 25 August 'for the administration of justice' and arrest of 'the offenders of Tyndale, the murderers of Roger Fenwike (Fenwick) and takers of Sir Reynolde Carnabye, so that they should not flee into Scotland.' The Council advised King Henry on 21 September that 'Robert Colyngwood and John Horsley should be asked to assist.'<sup>(224)</sup> In September John purchased land which had been taken from the monasteries.<sup>(225)</sup> His son, Cuthbert, may have been Member of Parliament for Appleby, Cumberland.<sup>(129)</sup> On 6 October Thomas Avery, Thomas Cromwell's servant received £20 from John Horsley. The money was delivered by Dr. Bellisys (Anthony Belasyse/Bellasis; the uncle of Richard).<sup>(223)</sup>

On 20 December 1539 Sir William Eure wrote to the Lord President of the North, Robert Holgate from Berwick saying that on Thursday night John Horsley, captain of Bamburgh, had told him that a Scottish ship had been driven ashore by a 'tempest'. One of the Scottish gentlemen passengers had given nineteen sealed letters and six copies of letters, addressed to Cardinals and other Catholic churchmen in Rome from the Scottish King and his council to his servant, William Buckton. He also carried private letters to merchants in France. John Horsley gave the Scottish gentleman, who had the King's safe - conduct, horses to ride to Newcastle and promised that the letters would be redelivered to him. Eure advised Holgate that 'He is a secret man in great trust with the new cardinal of Scotland.'<sup>(226)</sup> In 1540 King Henry sent Ralph Sadler to meet King James of Scotland to try to persuade him not to ally with Catholic France. Sadler showed James a letter dated 16 November 1539 which the Catholic Cardinal Beaton had written from Kelso, Scotland. It seemed to suggest the Catholic church wanted more power in Scotland than King James. King Henry had told Sadler that the letter had been accidentally taken from one of the Cardinal's servants who was going to Rome when their boat had been driven on the north coast of England during a storm. When Sadler stopped at Northumberland, en route to Scotland, John Horsley told Sadler he had taken the letters by force from the Cardinal's agent, Brunton.<sup>(227)</sup>

Robert Holgate, Bishop of Llandaff wrote to Cromwell on 17 January 1540 from York saying he had followed Cromwell's 'commandment'. He had examined William Horslaye, the King's servant and William Grymston, servant to Mr. Gostwyke (possibly John Gostwick, Member of Parliament for Bedfordshire) and enclosed their confessions 'signed with their own hands'. Holgate told Cromwell he would advise him if he learnt further of "his" sayings at 'Skawsby Leyse' (possibly near Scawsby, Doncaster, Yorkshire).<sup>(228)</sup>

The Privy Council wrote to Sir William Eure on 30 November 1540 wondering why he had not advised King Henry that King James of Scotland had provided close carts and yokes for carriage and ordered that no Scottish people should take food into Berwick. The Council asked why Robert Horsley, one of Eure's men in the Berwick retinue, had written on his behalf. Eure later sent the Privy Council a copy 'in haste' and told them he asked Horsley to do this for him.<sup>(229)</sup>

On 7 January 1541 King Henry's personal secretary, Sir Ralph Sadler sent papers from the Privy Council to Sir William Eure, Warden of the East March about King Henry's sister, Margaret Tudor, Queen Dowager of Scotland (the mother of King James V of Scotland). In his covering note Sadler told Eure that the Lord High Admiral John Russell felt that John Horsley had 'behaved ill in the matter being privy to the order made by me' and that Horsley's 'naughtiness ... in detaining the King's letters' has been referred to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.<sup>(230)</sup>

An inquest at Durham on 11 July 1541 after the death of Giles Horsley confirmed that he had held land and tenements in Crawcrook. His heir was unknown.<sup>(108)</sup> On 20 July Joan Horsley held Gloster Hill, south of Warkworth.<sup>(231)</sup> John Parker of Little Waltham, Essex may have taken over Edmund Horsley's lease of le Deyhouse tenement in Boreham on 26 July 1541.<sup>(232)</sup>

King Henry had been informed that many Scottish people exercised 'husbandry and handicrafts within Northumberland, to the detriment of the King's natural subjects'. On 26 September 1541, while at York, the King ordered the deputy wardens of the East Marches, Sir William Eure, Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe, Sir Ralph Ellerker, Sir Robert Bowes, Sir John Widdrington, John Heron, Robert Collingwood and John Horsley to expel Scottish men from Northumberland. Henry also commissioned three of the men, including Ellerker and Bowes, to survey the East and Middle Marches frontiers to identify how many able horsemen were available and the cost of the necessary fortifications.<sup>(233)</sup>

The deputy wardens of the marches, John Heron, Robert Collingwood and John Horsley, met the King's commissioners, Ralph Ellerker and Robert Bowes, at Alnwick on 5 October 1541. They planned how to expel 'aliens' from the nine wards of Northumberland by 4 November. They agreed to meet again at Alnwick to organise the occupation of the 'aliens' farms and tenements. The deputy wardens said they had ridden up the river Tweed destroying all the corn the Scots had sown on English land. Although they had tried to do this peacefully the Scots had heard rumours of an English invasion. The Scots had now withdrawn all their goods and cattle six miles into Scotland and were keeping watch for an invasion. The Tynedale and Riddesdale men had made two raids. The Carrs, with between sixty and eighty 'light young' men, had spoiled and burned Myndrone and Hethopole 'minding to provoke war between the realms'. However the Scottish warden, Lord Carr of Ferniehurst, had promised to meet Sir William Eure the following week; while Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe was meeting David Carr of Ferniehurst at the truce day on Saturday.<sup>(234)</sup>

On 16 October 1541 the Privy Council met at Collyweston, Northamptonshire. Robert Horsley, a priest, and John Horsley and Andrew Sharpe, 'husbandmen' were accused of insulting the King. As there was no clear proof and 'the case unimportant', the matter was referred to the justices of the shire.<sup>(234)</sup>

Sir William Eure and other men, including Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe and John Horsley, meet at Alnwick on 4 November 1541. On 7 November they reported to the King Henry that they had found a great number of Scots living in cottages with no land. A few had 'husband lands' (about twenty six acres) and mills which had now been taken over by 'able Englishmen'. Many of the cottages were empty. They recognised that the commission's suggestion to join the cottages together would not help where there was no lands attached. A greater number of Scots remained as servants and apprentices. Eure and the wardens recognised this was allowed by law, but they were encouraging Northumberland gentlemen and 'headmen' leaders to replace them with Englishmen. They recommended that a Scottish tailor who made good coats of plate and a man who helped guide them when raiding Scotland were allowed to stay. They had looked at all the frontier of the East Marches and of the Middle Marches, as far as the Coquetdale and Harbottle castle. Many towers and fortresses had fallen into decay as the owners had moved inland. They had ordered the owners, in the King's name, to repair and live there. They planned on Monday to go to the river Coquet and survey the Middle Marches to the west. They told King Henry that the Scots showed a good inclination to keep the peace. If good order was broken it would be the thieves from Liddesdale, Scotland or the 'King's evil subjects' of Tynedale and Redesdale 'who are knit together, and number at least 2,000 able and apt persons for war'. They recognised that the Scots also wish the two Kings would unite to subdue these areas.<sup>(235)</sup>

On 2 December 1541 Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe, Ralph Ellerker, Robert Bowes, John Heron, Robert Collingwood and John Horsley met at Newcastle. The commissioners sent King Henry the survey of the waste grounds along the borders of the East and Middle Marches. They told the King that they would have set it on a plate or as a picture, 'but could not find in these parts any man of cunning and experience to do it'. The report described the castles and other fortifications. The commissioners suggested 'devices for strengthening and peopling the borders'. They recommended that watches were kept at night at numerous places along the frontier and the river Tyne. The country lying further from the frontier should contribute to the expense.<sup>(236)</sup>

This 'View of the Castles, Towers, Barmekyns and Fortresses of the Frontier of the East and Middle Marches' reported that John Horsley, esquire had kept Scranwood tower and barmkin in good repair.<sup>(20)</sup> His brother in law, Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe's property of Cartington, was described as 'a good fortress of two towres and other strong houses .... in good reparacon.' Radcliffe also had a little tower at nearby Thropton.<sup>(20)</sup> The commissioners noted that at Linbrigg there had been a stone house which had been 'the inheritance of one Roger Horsley'. The house had been destroyed by the Scots in times past. The owner had gathered the stones on a stronger nearby site intending to build 'a new bastell house'. They found that Roger's tower at Thernham was in a measurable good state of repair.<sup>(20)</sup>

From 1541 Robert Horsley was active in preparing and taking part in the war with Scotland.<sup>(113)</sup> Cuthbert Horsley, Sir John Delaval and Sir Thomas Hilton, gentlemen, Justices of the Peace and King Henry's commissioners made an inventory of the vestments, ornaments, plate, jewels, bells and lead belonging to Newburn church, near Crawcrook on 27 March 1542.<sup>(16)</sup> William French, chaplain was at Milburn Grange on 24 April when John Horsley asked his father, Edmund Horsley 'Father, are ye not content that all the articles that are contained in the last deed made unto me should stand as your last will'. Edmund said 'Ye, son, with God's blessing and mine'<sup>(237)</sup>.

Sir Robert Bowes, deputy warden of the East March and King Henry's brother in law, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus went into Scotland on 24 August 1542 with about three thousand horsemen to harry Teviotdale and Jedburgh. They burnt several farms and settlements around Kelso and Jedburgh. On the way back to England they were attacked by about two thousand Scots at Hadden Rig (Haddon Rig), three miles east of Kelso. Six hundred English men were captured, including Sir Robert Bowes; his brother Richard and Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe.<sup>(238)</sup> Robert Bowes was put in prison in Edinburgh.<sup>(239)</sup> Cuthbert's son in law, Lord Robert Ogle, evaded capture. John Heron and Robert Collingwood with John Horsley had led two parties which went off from the main English force to burn various other places. They had 'great ground to ride to return to the main body'.<sup>(238)</sup>

On 26 August the Council of the North advised King Henry that John Horsley and Robert Collingwood had reported that they had never seen so little grain.<sup>(240)</sup> Thomas Manners, Earl of Rutland, Warden of the Marches told the Council on 31 August that he would consult the wisest local men about appointing a replacement deputy warden of the Middle Marches while Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe was one of the prisoners held by Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow. Robert Collingwood and John Horsley said they had 'some hope of getting Sir Robert Bowes and the rest home again; but as they are taken to Edinburgh, they now say there is no means but by ransom'.<sup>(240)</sup>

Lord Robert Ogle gave his young son, Cuthbert Ogle, the use of North Middleton, near Wooler, Northumberland in trust on 15 September. Cuthbert Horsley of Horsley (the cousin of Lord's Robert's wife, Jane Radcliffe) was one of Cuthbert Ogle's trustees.<sup>(241)</sup> Cuthbert paid King Henry £20 for the wardship of lands belonging to Lord Robert Ogle.<sup>(242)</sup> Cuthbert was also granted the wardship of Roger Horsley.<sup>(129)</sup>

On 19 September Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk's army of 2,200 men were expected to land at Holy Island (Lindisfarne, north of Bamburgh) on the next wind. Thomas Manners, Earl of Rutland reported that 'Northumberland was never so out of order with spoils and robberies'. Rutland 'could get no service, except from Robert Collingwood, John Horsley, Gilbert Swynowe and, sometime, John Carr'.<sup>(243)</sup> Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford wrote to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk on Friday 13 November advising him that Sir Thomas Hilton, Sir Ralph Eure, Sir William Bulmer, Ralph Bulmer, John Horsley and Robert Collingwood would go into Teviotdale 'wasting and consuming with fire and sword from these places homewards' on Thursday 19 November.<sup>(244)</sup> Hertford reported to King Henry on 19 November that two thousand horsemen from the garrisons and the local area had gone six miles into Scotland. They were lead by Hilton, Eure, Sir William and Ralph Bulmer, Collingwood and Horsley. Various places which maintained 140 ploughs were burnt. Much of the corn left in the fields was burnt, but it was wet as it had snowed that night. They should have taken 'the greatest booty made in Scotland these 20 years, but the Scots had intelligence', despite Hertford trying to maintain secrecy.<sup>(244)</sup> Robert Horsley, the steward of Warkworth castle, kept the night watch at Fenton Nesbit, near Wooler.<sup>(113)</sup>

The Sheriff list for Northumberland issued on 22 November 1542 included Sir Thomas Hilton, Sir John Delaval and John Horsley.<sup>(245)</sup> On the same day Sir William Eure advised Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford to send Robert Collingwood and John Horsley to Cukdale ready for the anticipated Scottish attack on England.<sup>(246)</sup> On 24 November Sir Thomas Wharton and men from West Marches defeated a large Scottish forces as they tried to cross the river Esk at Solway Moss, north of Carlisle, Cumberland.<sup>(245)</sup>

Sir William Eure reported to Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford on 3 December 1542 that Sir Thomas Hilton, Robert Collingwood and John Horsley had raided Hayhope and Clifton, near Town Yetholm, Scotland.<sup>(247)</sup> King James V of Scotland died in December 1542.<sup>(248)</sup> His heir, Mary, Queen of Scots, was only six days old. King Henry soon decided to marry her to his five year old son, Edward, and unite the kingdoms of England and Scotland. John Dudley, Viscount Lisle advised King Henry on 19 December 1542 that he had ordered Robert Collingwood and John Horsley, who were 'noted to be men of best conduct', to go with Lord Robert Ogle to burn east Teviotdale, Scotland to stop the people scouring the Merse, around Berwick.<sup>(248)</sup> Cuthbert Horsley lived in chambers at Lincoln's Inn where he was chosen to be the butler at Christmas 1542.<sup>(161)</sup>

On 24 January 1543 Thomas Dudley, Lord Lisle, Admiral of the Fleet and Vice Admiral Francis Bryan ordered the mayor of Newcastle and the owners of the four ships to be ready with food and other stores for one month. Thomas Horsley and two other keepers of the King's ordnance at Newcastle were 'to distribute among them 100 bows, 100 sheaf of arrows, 80 bills and 60 morres pikes.' Lisle and Bryan advised King Henry's Council that there were 'more pretty ships here able to serve; but no mariners and no ordnance, and very little powder.' They also reported that they had 'great business to get two of the ships loosed out of the ice which at the quay of this town is two fathoms thick.'<sup>(249)</sup>

In April 1543 King Henry agreed to pay Thomas Horsley a pension on 22 March and 9 November.<sup>(250)</sup> During a serious outbreak of 'a hot and dangerous ague' fever at Alnwick, Lord William Parr of Kendal, Westmorland wrote from Newcastle on 24 May saying he had chosen to live at nearby Warkworth castle even though it was somewhat decayed and needed repairs. King Henry's steward of Warkworth castle, Robert Horsley, spent 15s. 2d. on the 'emundacion' of the great hall, the kitchen and other chambers before Parr arrived. On 7 May and 11 August Parr approved spending £40 on repairs to the houses, brewhouses, towers and other buildings in the castle. He authorised further payments totally £12 12s. 9d., between 7 July and 25 October, for carpenters, masons, smiths, painters, carvers and repairs to tents and pavilions.<sup>(20)</sup> King Henry married William Parr's sister, Catherine, on 12 July.

King Henry asked Thomas Burgoyne, auditor; William Denton, receiver at Dunstanburgh and Robert Horsley on 4 July 1543 to look at the repairs done to Dunstanburgh castle and its walls by William Ellerker, the late receiver, in about 1528. The King asked them to report on the state of the castle, especially the old lead, timber and stone, and to value the lead.<sup>(251)</sup> King Henry also ordered them to survey the condition of the nearby Embleton Moot Hall and the costs of carrying out repairs 'near and cheap'. They recommended that castle's timber and lead could be taken from the castle, which was falling into ruins, to make a new flat roof for the Moot Hall.<sup>(251)</sup>

On 4 August 1543 King Henry told Ralph Sadler that he had ordered five thousand men to be ready to go into Scotland if the Scots would not agree the treaty for Mary, Queen of the Scots to marry Edward or if Mary was taken away. The English troops were to go into west and east Scotland as two divisions. Sir Ralph Evers, Brian Leighton, Robert Collingwood and Robert Horsley would lead the eastern division and join Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus.<sup>(252)</sup>

Charles Brandon, Earl of Suffolk, King Henry's brother in law; William Parr, Lord Warden and Keeper of the Marches and Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham had a long debate with Sir Thomas Wharton and the 'expert gentlemen of the West, East and Middle Borders, including John Horsley, in Darlington, County Durham on 17 September 1543. Those from the west explained they could not provide victuals (including food and beer) and carriage for an army and the western routes into Scotland were not suitable. The men from the East and Middle Marches, including Horsley, said that if war was to be made with Scotland that winter there should be an army like that led by the Duke of Norfolk the previous year. It should enter by the East and Middle Marches. If the Scots had not assembled the English army should march in two groups, near enough to join up if attacked. The East and Middle Marches men predicted that within ten days the Scots would 'give battle' or negotiate. The Scottish borderers might offer to serve the English. The borderers recognised that if the current garrison in the East and Middle Marches was increased, the Scots 'will be most cruel' before an English invasion. During the invasion men from the garrison could be sent to the army if needed. With the necessary carriage and victuals, and seasonable weather, an army could do more than a garrison. They suggested experimenting to see if some Scots who might be trusted were appointed to do 'annoyance' in Scotland before the invasion. Suffolk said that if a main army entered, he would leave enough men to guard the Borders. The main army would go into Scotland from Wark, then to Kelso and ride in a night to Edinburgh. Suffolk reported the recommendations to Council. He included details of the supplies of bread and beer needed for 16,000 men and what victuals, grain, carts, horses and armaments Berwick could spare for an army. He told the Council that 'It is thought that, if a main army should not invade, 2,000 will suffice to garrison the Borders, unless the Scots enforce their Borders with great garrisons.<sup>(253)</sup>

On 22 September 1543 after the Scots had raided England William Parr, Lord Warden and Keeper of the Marches reported to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk and Charles Brandon, Earl of Suffolk that Sir Robert Ellerker, Robert Collingwood and John Horsley were mustering two hundred men to fight the Scots. They needed other bases beside the garrisons. They would 'make their certificate of victuals for the army in five days'.<sup>(254)</sup> Suffolk, Tunstall, Bishop of Durham and Sir Anthony Browne told Parr on 25 September to join them speedily at Darlington and bring Sir Ralph Eure, Robert Colinwood and John Horsley for a consultation 'leaving the Borders in as good order as ye may.'<sup>(254)</sup> Parr and Wharton arrived on 27 September with 'the most expert men of the borders'. Browne wanted to take forward their recommendation to King Henry to have a main army to fight the Scots, rather than organising garrisons. After a long debate they recognised that the recent sudden floods had carried away their corn and the weather was 'so sharp' that supplying and moving an army would cause hurt. The borderers asked for time to plan. They did not want to put the King's people in jeopardy of weather or 'the King to such charges'. The next day the borderers brought two signed books explaining what they had agreed.

They concluded that they needed two hundred more men in the garrison, to make up to one thousand. The borderers trusted that the enemy would be so weakened that afterwards only six hundred men would be needed, unless the Scots made strong garrisons, though after 'these exploits' they would lack supplies. The borderers asked for the support from the other areas which William Parr, Lord Warden controlled including; Westmoreland, Cumberland and the bishopric of Durham. Charles Brandon, Earl of Suffolk; Lord Warden Parr; Tunstall, Bishop of Durham and Sir Anthony Browne reported this meeting to the Council on 30 September. Wharton reminded the Council that he was waiting for their answer about the repairs needed to the 'King's new works', which are in such decay 'by raining into them' that they were likely to be lost.

The East and Middle Marches borderers, including John Horsley, said they trusted that with small numbers of light horsemen they could do more hurt than either the main army or the ten thousand men. Beside the problems identified the previous day, there would be a great loss of horses. It would be impossible to take the fortresses and towers in Teviotdale without great ordnance and in only six days. Their book included 'devised exploits' for annoyance in Scotland this winter when the moon and weather was right. With small numbers, they would burn and destroy the buildings and corn in thirty three named places in Teviotdale and nineteen in the Merse; also the homesteads and granges near them. They had destroyed some of these places the previous year, but they had been rebuilt. The borderers assured the Council 'we will do our best service'.<sup>(255)</sup>

William Horsley, Yeoman of the Guard, died on 12 September 1543, possibly in Grafton, Yorkshire.<sup>(256)</sup> In October King Henry granted his survivor, Thomas Horsley, a groom of the butlery, the offices of bailiff of the lordships of Cropton in Pickering, Lith and Skirpenbeck, also as a forester in Galtres forest with fees of 30s. 4d. and 33s. 4d. a year and 4d. a day respectively.<sup>(256)</sup>

The Sheriff roll for Northumberland in November 1543 included Sir Thomas Hilton, John Horsley and Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe.<sup>(257)</sup> Robert Collingwood and John Horsley rode into Scotland on Sunday 11 November 1543 with the garrisons of the East Marches and one hundred horsemen from Berwick. At daylight on Monday they burnt two towns in Teviotdale, including Morebattle. They took prisoners and many cattle and goods<sup>(258)</sup>. Collingwood, Horsley and John Carr burnt Awtenburne, Offenamsyde, Feltershays and the Woodsyde in Scotland on 24 February 1544.<sup>(259)</sup>

In January 1544 King Henry granted his servant, Sir Arthur Darcy property which had belonged to the monasteries, including Hell Grange, in Bugthorpe, near Skirpenbeck, Yorkshire which was occupied by John Horsley.<sup>(260)</sup> Elizabeth Horsley, a widow, transferred a messuage with land in Kirkby, near Fleetham, Yorkshire and a third of the manor and land to Sir Robert Lassellys.<sup>(261)</sup> Thomas and William Horsley were listed as 'Billmen, pikes and others' in the household of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk's force preparing to invade France in March.<sup>(262)</sup>

King Henry was 'provoked by the untruth of the Scots' and wanted Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford to invade Scotland by sea and then be joined by four thousand horsemen to attack Edinburgh. In March 1544 Ralph Eure, warden of the Middle March; Sir Cuthbert Ratcliffe captain of Berwick castle and Sir John Lowther, captain of Carlisle castle advised Hertford that whilst an invasion might be feasible, the return home would be very dangerous. The horses would not survive being out at night at that time of year and the Borders could not loss so many good horses. Hertford then asked 'men of wit and experience', including John and Robert Horsley, for their opinion. After two days of debate they came to the same conclusion. Lord William Eure and Thomas Wharton, Sir Ralph Eure, Robert Collingwood, John Horsley and Brian Layton, captain of Norham signed a letter on 19 March advising King Henry that they proposed burning the Scottish border towns of Haddington and Hawick.<sup>(263)</sup>

On 23 April Thomas Seymour, Earl of Hertford; the wardens of the East and Middle Marches and the other expert men, including Horsley and John Carr, sent King Henry their plans for riding into Scotland and burning Haddington. When the King's army landed near Edinburgh they would ride twenty miles west and join the army. As they could not get enough light carriages to carry food, the Northumberland men on the worst horses would continue on foot with the army. Their horses could then carry supplies. The borderers would get carriages from the enemy. A thousand footmen from Durham and Northumberland had been ordered to provide a garrison if the Scots invaded when they saw the English enter Scotland. They told King Henry there 'will be no great charge, as they shall have no wages but only a certain reward.' Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland was going to Alnwick to organise the King's people to defend England. By Saturday Hertford and all the army would be on ships 'ready to sail when the wind serves'. They all signed a letter telling the King that four days after they heard his army had landed in Lothian, Scotland they would join with their garrison men and provide about 3,400 horsemen.<sup>(264)</sup> On 29 May Lord William Eure reported to Hertford from Berwick that some of Robert Horsley's company were taken by the Scots during their journey to Edinburgh. Many horses from the East Marches had died.<sup>(265)</sup>

John Horsley and other men burnt Hume village, Berwickshire, Scotland to the gates of the castle on 2 August 1544.<sup>(259)</sup> Robert Horsley was appointed constable and keeper of Langley castle, near Hexham on 11 September. Sir Reynold Carnaby and his brother, Thomas Carnaby had previously held this post. The castle had been granted to the Earldom of Northumberland, but was now held by the Crown.<sup>(266)</sup> On 5 October Ellerker, Collingwood and Horsley burnt Cheritryes, Scotland. Robert Collingwood, Horsley and the Berwick garrison burnt Marbotell and Prynside on 11 November.<sup>(259)</sup>

Between 1 October 1544 and 16 March 1546 Cuthbert Horsley was a receiver for the court of augmentations controlling property taken from the Catholic church in the bishopric of Durham and archdeaconry of Richmond.<sup>(129)</sup> Cuthbert was chosen to be the butler at Lincoln's Inn again between All Saints day, 1 November 1544 and 16 March 1546.<sup>(161)</sup>

On 17 November 1544 after the death of 'Oduell' Horsley, land worth 53s 4d a year at Newton, near Bamburgh was transferred to William Mannars (Manners) and his wife, Elizabeth, Oduell's sister. Elizabeth and Oduell were the children of George Horsley.<sup>(267)</sup> Roger Horsley's nineteen year old daughter and heir, Margery, married Cuthbert Carnaby<sup>(92)</sup>. Cuthbert was the brother and heir of Reynold. He later inherited their father William Carnaby's estate of Halton.<sup>(268)</sup>

Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury and Ralph Sadler had received letters from the Privy Council saying that 'some experienced men' recommended that a thousand men from the border garrisons were sent to stay in Scottish places were Scots men had become King Henry's subjects. The Privy Council asked Shrewsbury and Sadler to 'consult with men of experience' about this and how to administer justice to such Scots. Shrewsbury and Sadler reported to King Henry on 18 December 1544 after their meeting in Alnwick with the wardens of the East, West and Middle Marches; Sir Brian Layton, captain of Norham; Robert Collingwood, John Horsley and John Carr, captain of Wark; 'the men of best experience on all the Borders'. They recognised that having garrisons in some Scottish places might help the King, but the surrounding countryside was too devastated to find food. It was not clear if the gentlemen of Scotland who owned houses which could be used as garrisons 'would be content to abandon them or suffer Englishmen to lie there with them'. They realised that people who have lived so long lived without any order of justice must be handled discreetly at first. The borderers hoped that when the Scots 'have felt the sweetness, wealth and quietness' it would become acceptable. They recommended the wardens, 'within the parts adjoining his rule', would be the best people to administer justice; 'with the assistance of some learned men.'<sup>(269)</sup>

John Lynne of Newcastle and William Chertesey of London was granted custody of Kingsmeadow, an island in the river Tyne in March 1545. The island had previously been rented to Thomas Horsley deceased at 41s..<sup>(270)</sup> Thomas Horsley's tombstone in St. Nicholas' church, Newcastle asks people to 'Pray for ye soul of Horsleyie, march, adventurer, sometime mayor of this towne, and his wife'.<sup>(110)</sup>

An inquest at Durham on 27 April 1545 after the death of Roger Horsley confirmed that he had held land and tenements in Crawcrook. Roger's nineteen year old sister, Margaret, the wife of Cuthbert Carnaby, was the next heir. They were the children of Roger Horsley of Crawcrook.<sup>(108)</sup> Margaret and Cuthbert Carnaby inherited Roger's estate including Crawcrook, County Durham and various estates in Northumberland, including Lyham, Thernham and Togston.<sup>(268)</sup>

In May 1545 King Henry granted William Horsley, Yeoman of the Guard, a twenty one year lease of Cropton manor, part of the lordship of Sheriff Hutton, from Michaelmas, September.<sup>(271)</sup> Thomas Horsley and John Cotes were the tenants of two messuage dwellings in Westerdale, near the river Esk, Yorkshire in July.<sup>(272)</sup>

John Horsley arrived at Darlington on 17 June. He had been taken prisoner by the Scots, but was allowed to return to England after a bond was paid. John told Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, Bishop Tunstall and Ralph Sadler that John Forster, warden of the English Middle Marches had various meetings in Scotland with George Douglas, who had sent for many Scottish lords.<sup>(273)</sup>

On 29 July 1545 Anne Horsley of Durham was in good health, but made her will because her house had been infected with the plague. The inventory recorded after Anne's death valued her belongings as 'an actual total £21 1s 2d', with 'account of debts of £10 16s. 5d.'.<sup>(274)</sup> Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford's army who attacked Scotland in September 1545 included Spanish mercenaries. The York Herald noted that the Spanish stayed at Fosters and Horsley's houses after the fighting.<sup>(275)</sup> William Horsley, yeomen of King Henry's chamber, received wages of 4d. a day for Christmas 1545.<sup>(276)</sup>

Cuthbert Horsley was appointed as a commissioner to survey church chantries in Westmorland and Cumberland on 14 February 1546.<sup>(277)</sup> He resigned from the Court of Augmentations on 16 March.<sup>(278)</sup> Cuthbert Horsley, gentleman of Catton, Yorkshire wrote letters of attorney for Richard Dyconson, yeoman, to give to the Richmond archdeaconry and Durham bishopric court's receiver, Richard Bunny.<sup>(279)</sup> On 18 May King Henry granted Cuthbert the right to nominate one of the clergy appointed to Holy Sepulchre's or St. Mary and the Holy Angels chapel. The chapel was in the church yard beside York Minster. It had been used for masses for the dead.<sup>(280)</sup> George Lime was paid 20s. on 6 October for riding with letters to Mr. Horsley, one of the receivers in the Court of Augmentations.<sup>(281)</sup>

King Henry appointed his groom of the Butlery, Thomas Horsley, keeper of the orchard in Sheriff Hutton on 4 June 1546. Thomas was granted a twenty one year lease of Skirpenbeck manor and the mill which was let to William Horsley. Thomas was also granted a parcel of land belonging to Sheriff Hutton. The land was assigned to pay the captain and soldiers of Berwick. The lease had started on Annunciation of Our Lady day, 25 March.<sup>(282)</sup> William Horsley was a tenant of Hell Grange in July.<sup>(283)</sup>

On 8 March 1546 the Privy Council, including Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, sent the Lord Warden of the Marches a letter reporting that Robert Horsley and fifty light horsemen had laid waste to Glendale, near Wooler. When Hertford returned from Scotland he had discharged Horsley. Sir John Neville was going to replace Horsley with inland men or men 'of the waste of West Tylle'. Neville could not however provide the men and was based at Chillingham, not Wooler.<sup>(284)</sup> Robert Collingwood, Robert Horsley and others attacked Kelso on the 28 June 1546.<sup>(285)</sup> They raided Tynedale to Mose House on the 31 July and took prisoners, but some escaped.<sup>(285)</sup>

Between 14 October 1546 and 18 March 1548/9 George Stonehouse and Robert Horsley were the victuallers for the army at Berwick, Holy Island, Wark, Newcastle and several places in Scotland.<sup>(286)</sup> On 20 November George Stonehouse and Robert Horsley signed an indenture agreeing that Robert would take over custody of the victuals at Berwick. A copy was sent to the Privy Council.<sup>(287)</sup> The Sheriff roll for Northumberland in November 1546 included Robert Collingwood, Sir John Widdrington, John Horsley and Sir John Delaval.<sup>(288)</sup> On 10 November King Henry granted Jasper Horsley an annuity of £66 13s. 4d.<sup>(281)</sup> Jasper had been the 'bailiff itinerant and cursitor of the Exchequer' of the Benedictine monastery at Durham.<sup>(289)</sup>

King Henry VIII died on 28 January 1547 and his nine year old son, Edward, was crowned King on 20 February 1547. As Edward had not reached the age of majority the realm was governed by a Regency Council. The Council was first led by Edward's uncle, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford who became Lord Protector and Duke of Somerset. Somerset continued the policy of forcing an alliance with Scotland by the marriage of Protestant King Edward VI to Catholic, Mary, Queen of Scots. James Hamilton, Earl of Arran was Scottish Regent for four year old Mary, Queen of Scots.

William Patten from London accompanied Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset on his expedition to Scotland in August 1547. Patten wrote enthusiastically about Bamburgh castle where 'one Sir John Horsley Knight is captain. The plot of this castle standeth so naturally strong.' Horsley and his servant lived in the furnished lead roofed hall, great chamber and a chamber east of the hall. There were cellars under the hall and great chamber with doors and furniture. The castle also had a flagstone roofed kitchen, a slate roofed chapel and two other lead roofed chambers.<sup>(14)</sup>

The Duke of Somerset's well equipped army marched from Newcastle to Berwick on 1 September 1547. They were supported by a large fleet under Lord Clinton.<sup>(290)</sup> The English army of between fifteen and nineteen thousand men advanced into Scotland along the east coast, so it could maintain contact with the navy. On Friday 9 September the English camped just to the west of Prestonpans, about nine miles east of Edinburgh. The Scottish army of between twenty two and twenty three thousand men under the Earl of Arran camped further west at Musselburgh, controlling the bridge across the Esk on the coast road to Edinburgh. The camp was protected by a turf defence wall with artillery and a steep river bank and marshland to the south. There was a confrontation between the cavalry units at Falside Hill. The Scots lost about half their cavalry and the rest were driven three miles west. Somerset gained the high ground above Musselburgh and established the English artillery on the slopes. On the morning of 10 September the English moved towards Inveresk church. They found the Scots had abandoned their strong defensive position and taken control of the church. The Scots advanced rapidly and Somerset sent in his cavalry to slow them. The Scottish schiltron 'hedgehog' of pikes drove off the English cavalry and caused heavy losses. The Scots were however now static on open ground in the range of Somerset's artillery, archers and the English ships' guns. Many Scots were killed.<sup>(291)</sup> John Horsley fought at Musselburgh.<sup>(292)</sup> (This 19<sup>th</sup> century source says that John was knighted then, but this does not seem to link with the record of 1533 reporting that John Horsley was knighted then.<sup>(175)</sup>) The Scottish government still refused to agree peace. Queen Mary of Scotland was sent to France and engaged to Francis, the heir to the French throne.<sup>(291)</sup>

George Stonehouse and Robert Horsley, surveyors of the King's victuals in the north, identified deficiencies in the supplies for two Navy ship's; the galley, 'Subtil' and hoy, 'Barke'.<sup>(293)</sup> In about 1547 Robert Horsley was a Justice of the Peace and the Custos Rotulorum, keeper of the rolls for Northumberland.<sup>(113)</sup> In 1547 Nicholas Horsley granted his son, John, all his Ulchester manor tower and gardens, lands and cottages.<sup>(14)</sup> Between 1547 and 1553 Edmund Horsley occupied land in Milburn which had belonged to Newminster abbey.<sup>(1)</sup> Thomas Hilton was Member of Parliament for Northumberland in 1547<sup>(189)</sup>.

On 13 March 1548 Lord Scrope, Edward Horsley and Lord Conveys were leaders of the rearguard of an English army assembled to go to Haddington. Margaret Hilton's brother, Christopher Metcalfe was in their force<sup>(294)</sup>. Thomas Wyndham of Felbrigg, near Cromer, Norfolk, naval officer was providing support, including food and ordnance, to the English garrisons along the Scottish east coast. On 26 March Thomas wrote to Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset reporting that his five ships had left most of its supplies at Broughty castle, near Dundee, Scotland. They only had three pipes (3,024 pints) of beer left. He asked Somerset to send new men from Hull and (King's) Lynn to take over at Newcastle, because many of the crew were ill from bad food and lack of pay. Wyndham had spoken to Robert Horsley who had new provisions ready at Berwick and Holy Island. About this time George Stonehouse and Robert Horsley, surveyors of the King's Majesty Victuals Northwards, received £137,100 at Berwick for supplying King Edward's ships. They wrote off £32,209 for wasted and decayed biscuit because of 'foul weather and long lying in the seas'. They received 104, 564 pieces of salt beef; 64 butts (64,000 pints) of 'sack' sherry type wine; 166 butts of 'malmsey' rich sweet wine; 14 tuns (28,000 pints) of gascony wine; 96 tuns of claret wine of which 4½ tun was wasted; one pipe one hogshead (1,500 pints) of olive oil; 11 quarters 7 bushels of meat; 3,863 mud fishes; 31 barrels of fish; 3 quarters 26 pounds of hops and 20 weys (about 4,480 lbs) of bay (evaporated) salt at Berwick. They also received 62,439 clapboards, other timber, nails, rope and oakum (for caulking ships), 23 tents and various barrel hoops.<sup>(295)</sup>

During Easter 1548 Thomas Horsley, the son and heir of William Horsley deceased, purchased a messuage and cottage with lands in Fymu(m?), Yorkshire.<sup>(296)</sup> Cuthbert Horsley was a commissioner for church chantries in Cumberland, Westmorland and Carlisle in 1548.<sup>(129)</sup> His deserted chambers at Lincoln's Inn had to be broken into and his goods put in safe custody in February 1549 as 'Mr. Horsley having been absent for the space of three years and not having answered the letters of the benchers'.<sup>(161)</sup> In May Sir John Horsley; John Horsley of Ulchester; Thomas Horsley of Scranwood and William Horsley of Netherton, bailiff of Lucker were listed as gentleman of Northumberland<sup>(297)</sup>. Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Grey, granted Cuthbert Horsley an annuity of £5 from the revenues of Loughborough manor in October 1551<sup>(129)</sup>. On 15 December Ellen (Helen) Muschamp, the postmistress or widow of the postmaster of Belford, and mother of John Carr, left Agnes Horsley £3 'if shey mane with frends'<sup>(298)</sup>.

Sir John Horsley of Horsley was granted various property which had belonged to the former monastery of Brinkburn, including a chapel or hermitage and parcel of land in Causefelde and Helme on 9 March 1552<sup>(4)</sup>. King Edward appointed John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, Lord Robert Ogle, Sir Thomas Grey of Horton, Cuthbert Horsley and Robert Horsley commissioners for Northumberland on 16 May to record the goods belonging to churches and former monasteries to prevent 'further embezzlement'<sup>(4)</sup>. They reported on 18 August that they had found a chalice, holy water brass pot, small bells, old vestments and a cope (cape) at Brinkburn<sup>(4)</sup>.

Sir John Horsley, captain of Bamburgh castle signed the rules for the border watches on 22 August 1552<sup>(290)</sup>. He was appointed to watch the coast from 'Warnmouth to Doxford Burn' with Sir John Forster<sup>(3)</sup>. Sir John Horsley of Horsley was appointed commissioner for enclosures of land in the East Marches from Warnebridge to the Water of Aln as 'Bamburghshire goes'<sup>(299)</sup>. Cuthbert Horsley was a commissioner for enclosures in the Middle Marches<sup>(3)</sup>, with John Horsley of Milburn Grange who covered the area of Street West to Shaftoe Crag, between Wansbeck and Stanerdon<sup>(299)</sup>. Robert Horsley, gentleman of Acklington was responsible in the Middle Marches from the sea to the street between the rivers Coquet and Wansbeck<sup>(299)</sup> and Thomas Horsley of Scranwood from Leirchild Burn to the March of Scotland between Breamish and Simonside<sup>(299)</sup>.

In January 1553 Thomas Horsley and James Lawson, a Newcastle merchant, shared the tenure of a site in Newcastle which belonged to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. It had been the monastic house of Augustinian friars and two garden<sup>(300)</sup>. Cuthbert Horsley, gentleman and Bertram Anderson, merchant were elected to represent Newcastle as Members of Parliament on 23 March<sup>(110)</sup>. They served in Parliament in October<sup>(129)</sup> with Robert Horsley, the Member for Northumberland. Robert was the keeper of Acklington Park<sup>(113)</sup>. On 12 September 1553 Sir John Horsley, captain of Bamburgh and his son, Cuthbert attended Lord Wharton, Lord Deputy Warden General and the Council's consultation meeting at Newcastle about arrangements for the good government of the borders<sup>(299)</sup>.

Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, Marquess of Dorset was executed for treason on 23 February 1554. The Court of Exchequer confirmed that Cuthbert Horsley could keep the annuity Henry had given him<sup>(129)</sup>. When Sir Thomas Grey<sup>(301)</sup> and Cuthbert Horsley<sup>(129)</sup> became Members of Parliament for Northumberland for Queen Mary's third parliament in November 1554 John Delaval<sup>(93)</sup>, Sheriff of Northumberland described them as 'two of the grave and Catholic persons [in] the said county'. Between 1554 and 1555 Cuthbert Horsley of Horsley went to court because in 1527 he had paid £30 for a joint wardship, but the other guardian had failed to pay his share<sup>(129)</sup>. He may have been Member of Parliament for Morpeth in 1555<sup>(129)</sup>.

William Hilton and Margaret Metcalfe's son, William Hilton attended Peterhouse college, Cambridge in 1555<sup>(302)</sup>. Their daughter, Ellen (Eleanor<sup>(118)</sup> or Helen<sup>(303)</sup> Hylton<sup>(92)</sup>) married John Horsley of Horsley<sup>(3)</sup>.

A legal case between Sir John Forster and John Horsley of Ulchester was heard at York about the tithes of Bamburgh. Forster claimed that Horsley, captain of Bamburgh castle, had not cultivated the surrounding lands because of the intense Scottish raids; so Forster could not collect the tithes. On 8 May 1556 John Horsley asked for the court case to be delayed as he had been imprisoned by Sir Thomas Wharton, Warden of the East and Middle Marches and was ill with a wound received from the Scots<sup>(14)</sup>. John's son, Cuthbert was an escheator in Northumberland between 1556 and 1557 involved in establishing who the legal heir of property was<sup>(129)</sup>. Queen Mary's Privy Council wrote to Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland on 31 January 1557 urging him to find the murderer of Thomas Carr. They said the Queen was considering granting the wardship of Thomas' estate to Cuthbert Horsley and Thomas' brother, John Carr. Queen Mary asked the Earl to advise her about who of Thomas' nearest family would ensure his son had a good education and should be his guardian<sup>(304)</sup>.

On 17 March 1557 Queen Mary ordered Robert Horsley and Ralph Collingwood, gentlemen to appear before Henry Neville, Earl of Westmorland; Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham and other Commissioners of the North<sup>(304)</sup>. There was an ongoing dispute between the Carrs and Herons about the occupation of Ford castle<sup>(305)</sup>. Robert Carr was forced out of the castle on Saturday 27 March. Robert Barrow, Mayor of Berwick was killed and Giles Heron, treasurer of Berwick was injured by Robert Carr and his followers when they went to the castle. Sir Robert Ellerker, Sheriff of Northumberland, John Bednell and Robert Horsley went to inspect on Monday 29 March<sup>(20)</sup>. In July Queen Mary appointed Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland joint Warden of the East and Middle Marches with Lord Thomas Wharton. Robert Horsley was ordered to be 'of good a bearing toward Lord Thomas Wharton and submit according to order'<sup>(113)</sup>.

Cuthbert Horsley was the Member of Parliament for Northumberland in 1559<sup>(129)</sup>. Sir Thomas Hilton died of a fever in March 1559. Thomas had married four times, but left no children. His brother, William Hilton, who was at least fifty years old was his heir. William wrongly accused Thomas' physician, Dr. William Bullein, of murder<sup>(189)</sup>. William's wife, Margaret's brother in law, Sir John Widdrington was Sheriff of Northumberland in 1559<sup>(1)</sup>. William Hilton, esquire of Biddick died about 1562 leaving debts<sup>(303)</sup>.

Thomas Horsley had occupied the old Dominican friary's estate in Bamburgh. On 20 January 1560 Queen Elizabeth gave it to Thomas Reve and Nicholas Pynd<sup>(14)</sup>. John Horsley of Ulchester was one the gentlemen living in the East Marches<sup>(299)</sup>. Lord of St. John, James Sandilands, one of the Scottish commissioners, stopped at Berwick. Francis Leek, Governor of Berwick wrote to William Cecil, Secretary of State on 22 September saying he had tried as much as he could to help the 'poor Scotchmen' and had sent John Horsley, Lord of Ulchester to meet him<sup>(306)</sup>. On 26 November Cecil thanked Lord William Grey, Governor of Berwick and Warden of the East and Middle Marches for getting Sir Thomas Grey of Horton, Sir John Forster, Roger Widdrington and the 'Horseleys' to end their disagreements and 'under their hands and seals acknowledge their discord and promise to keep the peace'<sup>(307)</sup>.

On 9 August 1561 Jenet Beamont, a single woman, of Knitsley, County Durham made her will and left her sister, Dame Horsley of Scoken a green gown and a red hat. Jenet left a red outer dress ('sangwain kirtle') to her sister's daughter, Margaret Blenkinsop<sup>(303)</sup>. Robert and John Horsley transferred property leases in Swarland (north east of Longframlington) to Lancelot Heslerigg between 1560 and 1561<sup>(4)</sup>. In 1561 John and Robert Horsley of Acklington Park agreed that Robert's daughter, Margaret's husband, Thomas Lisle, of Hazon (south of Alnwick)<sup>(308)</sup> could hold four messuages, four gardens, two orchards and lands in le Frythe and Glanteles for 99 years at a yearly rent of 4d., unless Lancelot Heslerigg and his wife, Agnes, needed the property<sup>(4)</sup>. Robert was a farmer in Acklington Park between 1561 and 1562. He received a fee of £3 0s. 8d. a year as the parker in 1562<sup>(140)</sup>. Robert surveyed Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland's land and negotiated repair work at Alnwick castle in 1562<sup>(113)</sup>.

Edmund Horsley of Milburn Grange had died by May 1562. He left a widow, Jane and their under age son, Robert. Administration of his estate mentioned his father, John of Milburn Grange and John's son, Jason<sup>(5)</sup>. Edmund's land in Milburn had belonged to Newminster abbey<sup>(1)</sup>. Lord Robert Ogle appointed Cuthbert Horsley, esquire as one of the four supervisors of his will on 27 July. He wanted each of his four supervisors to be given £6 13s. 4d. for their pains<sup>(309)</sup>.

In 1564 Cuthbert Carnaby and his wife, Margery, claimed half the manors of Lyham and Thernham, which had been belonged to Margery's late brother, Roger Horsley. The Carnaby family went on to hold half the manor of Lyham, while the other half was held by the Earl/Duke of Northumberland<sup>(310)</sup>. Cuthbert Horsley shared a fee of £9 'anent the pottegarie'<sup>(129)</sup> with two other lawyers giving advice to the Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle<sup>(311)</sup>. Cuthbert Horsley and William Longhaster agreed to purchase oak trees<sup>(312)</sup> and on 1 April the Tanners Company recorded that Cuthbert had 500 oak trees growing at Horsley worth £145<sup>(1)</sup>. Robert Horsley and his son and heir, William, bought a messuege with lands in Wansfurth (Wansford) and Nafferton, near Driffield, Yorkshire from William Hylton in 1564<sup>(313)</sup>.

In February 1565 Jasper Horsley helped record the inventory of the goods for the late Edward Arthey Clarke and in June for the late Sir John Byndley; a minor canon of Durham cathedral and curate of Muggleswick<sup>(309)</sup>. Sir Robert Ellerker of Hulne park and priory, near Alnwick castle, appointed Robert Horsley of Acklington Park, as one of the supervisors of his will on 6 September 1565<sup>(314)</sup>. Robert Horsley owed Robert Ellerker £5 13s 0d. when Ellerker died<sup>(298)</sup>. Thomas Horsley entered Peterhouse College, Cambridge at Michaelmas 1565 after passing the matriculation examination. He was a sizar who received some assistance, such as meals, lower fees or lodging, possibly in return for doing a job. Thomas graduated with a Bachelors of Arts degree between 1565 and 1566<sup>(315)</sup>.

Margaret Hilton of Biddick left a will on 4 June 1566 and asked to be buried at Washington church. Margaret gave each of her daughters, Elizabeth, Dorothy and Helen (Horsley) a silver spoon; also her granddaughters, Elizabeth and Joyce Threkeld. She left her son William's wife, Anne, her best silver spoon. Margaret gave each of her female and male servants a ewe and lamb. She also remembered the people who had looked after during the winter and when she was ill. Margaret appointed her sons and daughters as her executors and made arrangements for her under age children, Robert, Roger, Ralph, Sibbell and Margery. She asked her brother, Sir Christopher Metcalfe; brother in law; son, William; sons in law and nephew to supervise her will. Margaret acknowledged that she owed her daughter, Dorothy's husband, Michael Constable, their dowry. She asked for Michael to receive £40 from her goods; also the horses and mares he had been looking after and £20. The inventory made on 10 June after Margaret died included twenty five silver spoons and a chessboard<sup>(303)</sup>.

On 23 August 1566 John Horsley, a commissioner for enclosures on the Middle Marches, bought Milburn Grange for £200 from Bertram Anderson, a Newcastle merchant<sup>(110)</sup>. Thomas Horsley paid the Earl of Northumberland an annual 40d rent for holding a well built stone tower with a dwelling and land called 'Hobcroftes'; also a cottage with a toft and croft called 'Aymers land' in Alnham. John Horsley held the manor called 'Alneham Moore'. Peter Horsley was a tenant, also in Alnham<sup>(310)</sup>. In 1567 Ralph Horsley had a cottage and garden attached to the mill at Lucker, with five butts of land and another cottage belonging to the manor house<sup>(14)</sup>.

On 20 January 1568 Magdalen Robson complained to Durham church officers that Robert Horsley had told her to 'tier a cheffe and neckurcheffe off a dyke' (hedge)<sup>(237)</sup>. Sir John Forster sent William Cecil, Secretary of State a brief note from Alnwick on 28 July about the main matters the Wardens' court needed Queen Elizabeth's Council to consider. Forster also told Cecil that Cuthbert Horsley, who read the commissions in open court, had never found any fault or asked questions in any wardens' times before Forster's<sup>(316)</sup>. Cuthbert complained to Privy Council on 4 September that Sir John Forster, Warden of the Middle Marches had 'exceeded his commission and acted contrary to the laws of the Marches' in executing a man for stealing sheep<sup>(317)</sup>. Cuthbert held Brinkheugh farm and Thristlehaugh<sup>(4)</sup> (Thrisley-heugh<sup>(1)</sup>) on the south side of Brinkburn and lands to the east in Weldon, together with Scranwood<sup>(4)</sup>. He also held Fieldhead, Linhirst, Cawseyfield, half the vill and manor of Horsley and lands in Thernham<sup>(1)</sup>. Cuthbert Carnaby also owned property in Thernham. Probably one held High Thernham and the other Low Thernham<sup>(6)</sup>. Cuthbert Horsley's sister, Isabella (Isabell) Horsley married Thomas Horsley of Brinkheugh. Robert's coat of arms was three horses' heads(3).

In 1569 Nicholas Burnope, a clerk of Croxdell, asked in his will to be buried in St. Oswald's parish church, Durham. He left his under age nephew, Lancelot Horsley, one feather bed, a boulster and the best outside coverings from his house in Durham, also his bow, arrows and books. Nicholas left the bed and coverings from Croxdell house to his niece, Alison Smith. Lancelot's mother, Elizabeth and Alison Smith were his executors<sup>(309)</sup>.

Charles Neville, Earl of Westmorland and Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland started an unsuccessful rebellion in northern England trying to replace Protestant Queen Elizabeth with Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots in November 1569. On 1 December Queen Elizabeth wrote to Thomas Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex, Lord President of the North; Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon and Sir Ralph Sadler saying she had sent Edward Horsley (Horsey) and five hundred horsemen, 'with shot', north to Doncaster<sup>(318)</sup>. On 6 December Sadler wrote to William Cecil from York saying there were only ten men in the region who favoured Queen Elizabeth's 'proceedings in the cause of religion'. Sadler however had hopes that the force led by Edward Horsley (Horsey) 'would do well enough'<sup>(318)</sup>. Ellen Horsley's brother, William Hilton provided one hundred horsemen to help Queen Elizabeth<sup>(319)</sup>. William served under the Earl of Sussex<sup>(320)</sup>. George Horsley, gentleman of Acklington Park was one of the Northumberland men convicted of conspiracy and rebellion<sup>(320)</sup>. He was a tenant of the Earl of Northumberland<sup>(6)</sup>.

Early in February 1570, before the northern rebellion stopped, Hunsdon wrote to Cecil from Berwick saying 'there is not one gentleman left but Mr. Hilton' in County Durham after the Bishop went to London and Sir George Bowes to York<sup>(318)</sup>. William Hilton was knighted by Thomas Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex, Lord President of the North at Carlisle on 28 August<sup>(320)</sup>. Sir William lent Queen Elizabeth £50 on her privy seal<sup>(118)</sup>.

Cuthbert Horsley, blacksmith, was among the men who provided surety for the inventory made on 28 April 1570 after the death of James Robinson, a Newcastle cordwainer<sup>(153)</sup>. Johanna Horsley was a tenant at Luker paying 75s. rent<sup>(14)</sup>.

In 1570 twenty three year old, Thomas Horsley, Bachelor of Arts, of Newcastle gave a statement during a church enquiry about Bartram Robson's pretended will<sup>(237)</sup>. Fifty six year old, Jasper Horsley, yeoman of Durham gave evidence in a marriage dispute between William and Isabel Walker. Jasper told the church officers that when he was the King's constable about sixteen years earlier William Walker had come to him between 7 and 9 at night and asked him to go to another house and arrest Isabel. Isabel Walker told Horsley that he had left her husband's house as he had beaten her earlier that day<sup>(237)</sup>.

Sir 'Thom. Hylton', probably Sir William Hilton, was a member of the Parliamentary committee for a bill about non - resident burgesses on 19 April 1571<sup>(321)</sup>. William was Member of Parliament for Northumberland, although he lived in County Durham<sup>(302)</sup>. Between 1571 and 1572 Robert Horsley carried out an inquiry about the collection of income from the former abbey at Alnwick, including its tithes, land and buildings<sup>(322)</sup>. Robert was a farmer in Acklington Park<sup>(140)</sup>. In July 1572 Jasper Horsley was involved in making the inventory after the death of Thomas Sparke, Bishop of Berwick<sup>(309)</sup>. William Horsley was a tenant allowed to fish the 'King's waters of Tweed'<sup>(323)</sup>. Thomas Horsley and his wife, Joanna, sold a messuage with land in Wanesforth and Nafferton, near Driffield, Yorkshire to Gilbert Warter, gentleman<sup>(324)</sup>.

In 1574 the Council of the North considered whether men, including George Horsley of Acklington Park, were messengers for rebels living outside of England<sup>(318)</sup>. Ellen Hilton Horsley's uncle, Sir Christopher Metcalfe died. He was said to have been 'fond of the gaieties of life and ostentation, and he seems to have maintained his house with almost princely dignity'. Most of the family fortunes had been squandered and lost, except Nappa hall and its estate and some small properties nearby. Christopher had been a Catholic in the time of Queen Mary, but appears to conformed to Queen Elizabeth's Protestant state religion. His wife and children were Protestants<sup>(325)</sup>.

A survey of Bamburgh castle, commissioned by Queen Elizabeth, found it in a state of decay having been spoiled by the captain, Sir John Forster. The commissioners interviewed the servants of the former captain, Sir John Horsley. They reported in October 1575 that Horsley had lived continually in the castle and looked after it well. It was recognised that Horsley had "long before earned the character of 'a true man, a wise borderer, and well minded to justice'"<sup>(20)</sup>. William Horsley purchased Eddlethorpe manor, south of Malton, Yorkshire, including two messuages and eight cottages with land<sup>(326)</sup>.

George Horsley, gentlemen of Acklington was pardoned for the offences he caused during the 1569 rebellion in April 1576<sup>(320)</sup>. Jasper Horsley of Durham made his will on 19 September<sup>(153)</sup>. Sir William Hilton was Sheriff of County Durham between 1576 and 1577<sup>(302)</sup>. Henry Horsley was a chamberlain keeping the accounts for the town of Hedon, east of Hull, Yorkshire<sup>(327)</sup>.

On 4 March 1577 John Horsley let Thomas Forster farm land in Ulchester for £40, including arable and pasture land<sup>(14)</sup>. William Hilton was a commissioner for piracy in Northumberland in April 1578<sup>(318)</sup>. Lamrocke Horsley purchased land in Newham (south of Lucker) from Oswald Ogle for £40 on 4 October 1578. It was held by Jason Horsley (either Lamrocke's brother or grandson). Lamrocke's widow, Agnes, later sold all her rights to Newham to Roger Fenwick. Lamrocke and Agnes Horsley had a son, Lancelot<sup>(5)</sup>. Cuthbert Horsley was the agistor looking after Acklington Park for Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland<sup>(129)</sup>.

Lauerence Horsley was accused of speaking against Queen Elizabeth while he was in Hull. He was questioned in York in 1578 by the Lord President of the North, Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, suspected of helping the rebels<sup>(328)</sup>.

In January 1580 William Horsley was alleged to have enclosed four pieces of land in Cropton, Yorkshire<sup>(329)</sup>. Mark Horsley, gentleman of Scranwood made his will on 19 January and mentioned 'my master, John Horsley esq.'<sup>(1)</sup>. Mark's widow and only executor, Margery, was granted probate at Alnwick on 16 May. The inventory of Mark's goods had a total value of £9 2s. 4d., with debts of £1 9s.<sup>(153)</sup>. John Horsley of Milburn Grange, aged 95, provided a witness statement on 5 November in a property dispute<sup>(110)</sup>.

According to Father Green Mr. Horsley, 'a gentleman of the north', was imprisoned twice in filthy 'blockhouses' in Hull in about 1580. While in Hull some men began to commend the Prince of Orange. Mr Horsley 'spake the contrary' and said he was a wicked man. At about nine o'clock at night Horsley was sent to York castle to appear before the Council. The next morning the Council sent Horsley to the Bishop's or Peter prison and laid irons on him. He was then sent back to Hull where his ears were cut off. Horsley was fined as he was thought to be a Catholic. He had to eat crusts of bread; some thrown in at the window. After Horsley died his body was eaten by rats<sup>(330)</sup>.

On 20 June 1581 an inventory was made after the death of Cuthbert Horsley, gentleman, of Acklington Park. Cuthbert's goods were valued at £19 5s. 3d.<sup>(140)</sup>. Sir William Hilton was appointed as one of the commissioner of the borders surveying the forts and castles in the East and West Marches<sup>(331)</sup>. His brother, Robert Hilton of Butterwick, County Durham made his will on 19 September<sup>(332)</sup>. Robert asked to be buried at nearby Sedgefield church. He left William, one angel gold coin. Robert gave his brother, Ralph Hilton £20 and his two best two suits, two doublets, two pair of britches; two pair of stockings and his best gown. Robert gave each of his four sisters, Elizabeth Thirkeld, Dorothy Constable, Ellen Horsley(Elliner Horsely) and Margaret Vavasour one ryall gold coin. He gave his best pair of 'virginalls' to his cousin, Margaret Blaxton and her daughter, Anne; his cousin, Else Eland and her daughter, Anne and Susan Baynbrige. Robert left his man, Robert Rutter, one doublet, and a pair of britches and each of his servants 12d.. He left the poor in Sedgefield £3, Washington (his birthplace) £2 and Monkwearmouth £2. The residue went to his brother, Ralph<sup>(333)</sup>.

William Horsley of Lucke died on 21 September 1581. Elizabeth and Lucy were not present when their widowed mother, Margery, was granted administration on 26 January 1582<sup>(153)</sup>. William died owing Mr. Foster of Etherston £6 and Mr. Hoskeney of London £10<sup>(14)</sup>. On 16 May John Sotheran, a Newcastle merchant left his cousin, Thomas Horsley, 20s.<sup>(298)</sup>. Thomas was one of the supervisors of John's will<sup>(334)</sup>. John Carr of Hetton, between Bamburgh and Wooler, died in 1582<sup>(310)</sup>. He was the son of the captain of Wark. John had married Agnes<sup>(92)</sup> or Anne<sup>(185)</sup> Horsley. Thomas Bamburghe transferred six messuages and ten cottages with land in Eddlethorpe, Yorkshire to William Horsley and his sons William, Richard and Francis. The property transfer included a warrant against a number of named people<sup>(335)</sup>.

John Horsley, gentleman of Milburn Grange made his will on 17 March 1583. He asked to be buried in Ponteland church. John gave all his goods to Lancelot, the son of his son, Lamerocke of Newham. He asked Lamerocke to provide Lancelot tuition. John appointed his grandson, Lancelot, as his executor. He left the son of his 'departed' son, Edmund, Robert, seven head of 'nawte' (cattle/sheep). Lamrocke and Oswald Ogle, gentleman of Shilvington, near Morpeth, witnessed and supervised his will<sup>(298)</sup>. The inventory made of John's goods on 22 March recorded an actual total of £25, with account of 12s. debts<sup>(153)</sup>.

England prepared its defences as the danger from Spain increased. Durham was a poor county and gentlemen like Sir William Hilton had to contribute heavily in 1584<sup>(302)</sup>. He was rated at £200 for lands around Chester (Le Street) 'and for apparel two horsemen, two able horses promised with men well furnished'<sup>(331)</sup>. On 30 September there was a muster of men with horses on the East Marches. John and Uswand (possibly Oswald) Horsley were with twenty two other men from Fenwick and Buckton (north of Otchester). Wede Horsley was one of the five men from Lucken. John Horsley was with fourteen other men from Ulchester<sup>(331)</sup>. George Horsley was the curate of Brinkburn in about 1584<sup>(4)</sup>.

A note of the profits from Acklington Park between Michaelmas 1577 and Michaelmas 1584, excluding any fees paid to the people looking after it and for repairs were £9 8s. 10d.; £9 0s. 8d.; £9 3s. 4d.; £9; £8 15s. 4d.; the sixth year when the park was let to George Horsley, £6 and the seventh £9 2s. 3d.<sup>(140)</sup>.

Sir John Forster and his son in law, Lord Francis Russell met Sir Thomas Kerr of Fernieherst, Warden of the Scottish Middle Marches for one of their regular border meetings on 27 July 1585 at Windy Gyle along Clennell Street on the Cheviot hills. Russell was shot and died the next day. On 29 July John Horsley of Scranwood<sup>(6)</sup> and thirty one other men who were with the English wardens signed Forster's statement saying Russell's murder had been planned<sup>(331)</sup>. John Horsley defended a court case in 1586 about tenants' rights and whether a field called Aydenfield was part of the Ellington manor (near Newbiggin) or held by John and Sir George Radcliffe, his late father, Cuthbert's cousin<sup>(336)</sup>. On 15 July 1587 twelve Scottish raiders stole 120 sheep from John's property at Scranwood<sup>(6)</sup>. George Horsley was keeper of Acklington Park between 1587 to 1592<sup>(140)</sup>.

In September 1587 Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon wrote to William Cecil, Baron Burghley 'As I came by Durham, I was entreated by all the gentlemen of the bishopric' to ask Queen Elizabeth to appoint a sheriff, the gaol being packed with murderers and other criminals. 'They say there is a commission lying by them, and seeing Sir William Hilton hath been so long sheriff, he is the meetest man for it'<sup>(331)</sup>. Hilton's appointment was confirmed on 4 October<sup>(302)</sup>. After the defeat of the Spanish Armada in August 1588 Sir William Hilton received a special mention in Queen Elizabeth's letter of thanks to the gentlemen of the bishopric of Durham<sup>(331)</sup>.

On 8 March 1588 the inventory made after the death of John Horsley of Lucken valued his goods at £9 7s. 8d., with account of debts and funeral expenses of £4 17s.<sup>(153)</sup>. William Horsley senior, gentleman of Skirpenbeck purchased the Yorkshire manor of Cawthorne, near Pickering from Sir William Fairfax<sup>(329)</sup>.

John Horsley, esquire of Horsley claimed that about fourteen days before Michaelmas, 29 September 1589 the Scottish family of Jock Burne of Coates stole seven oxen and a cow from Horsley<sup>(331)</sup>. On 3 May 1590 John accused William Rutherford and his sons, Richard and Andrew of Littleheugh, Roxburghshire, Scotland and Adam Rutherford of Chatto, near Kelso of stealing four oxen, three cows and a grey mare from Horsley<sup>(331)</sup>.

On 7 February 1590 Thomas Horsley's son, Charles was apprenticed to William Riddell, Merchant Adventurer<sup>(298)</sup> and Mayor of Newcastle<sup>(3)</sup>. Katherine (Catherine Grey or Gray of Chillingham)<sup>(128)</sup>, the wife of George Horsley<sup>(128)</sup>, complained to church officials on 10 December 1591 that Matthew Ogle had insulted her<sup>(237)</sup>. Robert Hemingwaye transferred a messuage with lands in Skircote, Yorkshire (Skircoat, south of Halifax) to John Horsley in 1592<sup>(337)</sup>.

John Horsley and his wife, Jane, and Henry Horsley (possibly John's brother) signed an indenture on 31 May 1593 'for continuing Outchester in the name and blood of the Horsleys'<sup>(14)</sup>. Jason Horsley married Margaret (surname unknown) on 25 June 1594 and gave her a third of Newham<sup>(5)</sup>.

Egreven<sup>(338)</sup> (Egrevanus<sup>(339)</sup>) Horsley, gentleman of Milburn was killed instantly on 16 August 1594 at Kemlespeth<sup>(338)</sup>, (Gamelspath, upper Coquetdale<sup>(6)</sup>). George Hall, yeoman of 'Burdup' stabbed Horsley in the back with a sword worth 6s. and John Hall, yeoman of Langshawe (near Melrose, Roxburgshire, Scotland), alias Nickes Jock, yeoman of Cowdenknowes (near Earlston, Berwickshire) stabbed him in the shin, with a sword worth 5s.<sup>(338)</sup>.

On 27 January 1595 John Horsley of Morwick purchased a messuage or tenement dwelling and eight oxgangs (between 120 to 160 acres) of land in Morwick. This property remained in John's family until 1750 when Henry Horsley conveyed it to trustees for the benefit of his creditors<sup>(140)</sup>. John Horsley, a horseman of Berwick, made his will on 20 March<sup>(153)</sup>. George Horsley was one of seven men from Togston at a muster of Middle Marches lighthorsemen at Abberwick edge, west of Alnwick, on 24 November<sup>(340)</sup>.

John Horsley, gentleman of Scranwood, was one of twenty one jurors who swore an oath on 9 April 1596 at Hexham. They agreed to undertake an enquiry into the state of the Middle March border defenses, following Lord Ralph Eure, Warden of the Middle March's orders. On 31 May Eure sent William Cecil, Baron Burghley the list of men complaining they had not completed the report<sup>(340)</sup>.

The inventory made on 1 July after Thomas Horsley of Shilbottle died valued his goods as £13 2s. 8d., after taking account of £3 12s. 8d. debts<sup>(153)</sup>. John Horsley, also of Shilbottle, died and left goods valued on 30 October at £14 19s. 4d., with £5 3s. 8d. debts<sup>(153)</sup>.

John Horsley, gentleman was on a jury in September 1597 advising a royal commission investigating the state of the Middle and East Marches garrison. Queen Elizabeth was paying local men to provide a garrison, including horses, to protect the area. The jury named some men in Redesdale who seemed to be taking the pay and horses, but working with thieves, the Scots or their private gain. Some of these men were making their servants get involved and having them on the Queen's garrison payroll. Horses seemed to be sent to Yorkshire<sup>(340)</sup>.

On 4 November 1597 Henry Riddell made his will in Elbing (then Poland). He left £100 to his father, William's 'faithful apprentice', Charles Horsley. The will was contested and on 6 November 1601 Isaac Sharpe, merchant, confirmed that he was with Henry when he made his will in Elbing<sup>(298)</sup>.

Before Michaelmas 29 September George Horsley of Togston gave all his goods to his brother, Thomas Horsley. After George's death his neighbours recorded on 15 February 1598 that he had had six oxen, a cow and heifer/bullock ('stirke') worth £5 6s. 8d.; a mare, three ewes and a hogg worth £1 10s.; a 'sewe' and a goose worth 5s.; ploughes worth 16s.; two 'almryes', a basket ('cawell') and one chest worth 16s; three pots, a kettle, ten mugs, three pots and two saucers worth 13s.; two barrels and a malt tub worth 1s. 8d.; a table, a 'fire crooke', pair of tongs, an iron spit and one chair worth 3s.. His bedding and other inside goods were worth 6s.. 3 bowls of hard corn sown estimated to 9 bowls worth £6. 6s.; one bowl of big sown estimated to 3 bowls worth £1. 10s. and five bowls of sown oats estimated to 25 bowls worth £4. 10s.. His belongings were worth a total of £22 4s 8d. George owed £12 0s. 1d.<sup>(298)</sup>. He owed money to one of his neighbours and for three oxen, one from Alice Horsley; a bushel of wheat and cheeses from George Horsley; cheeses from four other people; a 'kenning' of wheat; an oxen jest; hay in a Chevington field; rent to the lord; charges for reaping and winnowing corn; cleaning the house for the visitation before the funeral<sup>(140)</sup>.

In 1598 Matthew Ogle left his niece, Anne Ogle land, called 'Foxholes'. He had the land by a mortgage from John Horsley<sup>(1)</sup>. An arbitrator made a decision on 17 July 1600 about a disagreement between George Horsley, gentleman of Horsley and his wife, Katherine, about a debt of £60 0s.1 0d.<sup>(341)</sup>. Ralph Grey, esquire of Chillingham asked his nephew, Ralph Delaval, esquire of Seaton Delaval on 14 September 1602 to collect the £200 owed by John Horsley and George Horsley, esquire of Longhorsley<sup>(342)</sup>.

On 20 January 1602 Robert Selby, gentlemen of Biddlestone (between Scranwood and Alwinton) struck William Horsley of Scranwood on the left side of his head with a sword worth 10s.. William died on 27 January. Selby was convicted of murder and three other men of assisting him<sup>(343)</sup>.

Four English prisoners, including John Horsley, wrote to Robert Cecil and Queen Elizabeth's Lords of the Council in December 1602. They said they had been kept prisoners by the King of Spain in ship galleys off Sluis, Flanders for many years. Many other prisoners had already been released, 'with good entertainment and money in their purses'. They however 'still abide here as men cast away or in another world drowned in oblivion'<sup>(344)</sup>.

In 1602 Giles Fenay, gentleman transferred lands in Cropton, Yorkshire to William Horsley and his wife, Elianora<sup>(345)</sup>, possibly Ellinor Bulmer<sup>(128)</sup>. William Horsley of Cropton died in 1609. He left his middle aged son, William, a messuage, called the 'Hall House'<sup>(329)</sup>. Christopher 'Xpofer' Horsley and Elizabeth Nettleton were suspected of being Catholics and secretly married in Yorkshire in 1604<sup>(346)</sup>.

John Horsley, esquire of Scranwood was a member of the grand jury for a Session of the Peace held at Alnwick on 10 April 1605<sup>(347)</sup>. On 9 August Sir Roger Grey and his brother, Sir Arthur Grey of Spindleston agreed to pay John Horsley £30 a year for the remaining part of John's Ulchester estate. The Greys agreed the poor should have access to gather cockles<sup>(14)</sup>. Roger Nicholson, yeoman of Milbourne stole one wether sheep worth 5s. from Paul Horsley of Milbourne on 2 September<sup>(348)</sup>.

Henry Horsley signed his will in Newcastle on 7 December 1608. He left his executors who were his brother, George and their brother in law, John Scot of Alnwick, a quarter share of a coal mine in Bebside and Cowpen. It was leased from Thomas Harbottle. Henry mentioned his sister, Isabell Simpson (or Gibson) in Cambridge or Norfolk; his brother, John Horsley; his sisters' sons, John Forster of Burton and John Scot of Alnwick<sup>(1)</sup>.

On 10 June 1609 Ralph Delaval wrote to his cousin, Mark Errington of Ponteland about Agnes Horsley's dower<sup>(349)</sup>; the share of her late husband, Lamrocke's estate<sup>(5)</sup>. George Hill, yeoman of Monkridge, stole one 'redlyard' mare worth 50s., from Thomas Horsley, yeoman of Scranwood on 24 June<sup>(350)</sup>. Lancelot Horsley of Brinkheugh, near Brinkburn died before 10 November<sup>(140)</sup> when his estate's administration bond mentioned Lancelot and Elizabeth's under age children; Thomas, Catherine (married name Fulwood<sup>(1)</sup>), Florentine and Margaret (who died unmarried)<sup>(1)</sup>. Ralph Horsley, gentleman, possibly a farmer of 'Trisley hawghe' at Todburn, appeared in court on 13 November convicted of stealing two ewes, each worth 4s., from Elizabeth Horsley, a widow of Morpeth<sup>(351)</sup>.

In February 1612 Robert Horsley, the son of the late Lancelot Horsley, and others had to defend a court case when Sir Ralph Gray of Chillingham appealed about the forcible entry and seizure of deeds at Scranwood<sup>(352)</sup>. Robert had married his cousin, Anne, the daughter of late John Horsley of Horsley and Eleanor Hilton<sup>(4)</sup>. Robert and Anne lived at Brinkheugh<sup>(128)</sup>. Their only child, Fortune, married Robert Carr of North Biddick<sup>(128)</sup>. On 29 September 1615 an inventory made after the death of Robert Horsley, esquire of Scranwood recorded that his goods had an actual total value of £124 11s. 4d.<sup>(353)</sup>. A court inquest was held between 24 March 1617 and 23 March 1618 to identify what landed property Robert had<sup>((354) and (355))</sup>. Dugdale however recorded in 1666 that Robert died in about 1622 and Anne's brother, George Horsley of Horsley died in about 1615<sup>(128)</sup>. Anne was her brother's heir<sup>(4)</sup>. The Horsley quartering disappeared from the Delaval shield about this time<sup>(85)</sup>.

John Horsley, the husband of Jane, and gentleman of Alnwick, died before 6 May 1612. His goods had an actual total value of £17 3s. 10d. with account of debts and funeral charges of £27 13s. 4d.<sup>(353)</sup>. Thomas Horsley, Bachelor of Arts, was buried at St. Oswalds church, Durham on 16 June<sup>(315)</sup>.

On 11 February 1613 Jason Horsley of Milburn Grange and his son, Reynold<sup>(356)</sup> (Reginald<sup>(5)</sup>), purchased land in Newham, Whalton parish for £200 from Mark and Margaret Errington of Ponteland<sup>(5)</sup>. Jason and Reynold conveyed messuages in Newham to Jason's son, John and John's son, John for £200 in 1614<sup>(5)</sup>. Jason's grandson, John Horsley of Milburn Grange bought land in Newham Huntlaw on 6 July 1616<sup>(5)</sup>. Jason died before 1 August 1619<sup>((357) and (358))</sup> when his second wife, Anne, gave all her rights to Milburn Grange to her stepson, John Horsley<sup>(5)</sup>.

On 20 April 1613 Robert Horsley of Alnham asked to be buried in the church or chancel 'where it is most convenient to be done by my friendes and wife'. He left his mother three bushels of grain 'when the corne comes of the ground'. He gave his brother, Thomas' two children, 'either of them, one guye stirke'. He asked his very good friend, Charles Horsley, to be a father to Robert's son, John, bringing him up to fear God, kept at school and then 'put to an apprentice'. Robert gave John the residue of his goods. Robert Horsley of Alnham and Thomas Horsley of Scranwood were among the men who witnessed Robert's will and inventory of his goods<sup>(359)</sup>.

John Horsley, yeoman of Morwick<sup>(140)</sup> died before 29 November 1613 when an inventory was made of his goods which had a total value of £65 14s. 4d.<sup>(353)</sup>. John asked in his will to be buried in Warkworth and named his wife, Jane and their children, Alan, Thomas, Cuthbert, Elizabeth and Margaret<sup>(140)</sup>.

Jane Liddall married Charles Horsley on 5 December 1614<sup>(359)</sup>. A court case was held on 1 December 1615 after Charles Horsley, gentleman, had a branded cow worth £3, a brown heifer and branded heifer each worth 50s. stolen from Brinkheugh<sup>(360)</sup>. On 7 February 1617 Jane's father, Francis Liddall, a Newcastle merchant and husband of Anne, made his will. He left Jane ten tonnes of his coal at Dunstan (near Dunstanburgh)<sup>(359)</sup>. Charles Horsley of Brinkheugh died before 9 May 1622 when an inventory recorded he had goods worth an actual total of £47<sup>(353)</sup>.

Thomas Horsley was a tenant in Acklington in 1616 with 41 acres 2 roods 16 perches of land; including a tenement and garth (house and yard) covering 1 rood 12 perches; 1 acre 2 rood 35 perches of meadow and 39 acres 2 roods 9 perches of arable land<sup>(140)</sup>. Thomas Widdrington, gentleman of Newcastle, formerly a pensioner of Berwick, made his will on 2 April 1617. Thomas left his cousin, Elizabeth of Brinkheugh, the widow of Lancelot Horsley, £4<sup>(359)</sup>.

John Horsley, 'the elder', of the North Bayley, Durham was a lay clerk between 1576 to 1617. He may also have been a lay singer as the inventory made after he died included his gown and surplice. His widow, Margarie, agreed the inventory totalling £7 6s. 4d. on 26 June 1618. John and Margarie's daughter, Ellinor and her husband, William Smarte were granted administration<sup>(353)</sup>.

John Horsley of Milburn Grange was among the men present on 21 July 1620 when Robert Fenwick of Bitchfield made his marriage settlement<sup>(361)</sup>. Henry Collingwood of Great Ryle died about 1620<sup>(310)</sup>. He had married Dorothy Horsley, the daughter of John Horsley<sup>(308)</sup>. Dorothy was mentioned in John Carr's will in 1634<sup>(310)</sup>. On 21 December 1621 George Collingwood of Brinkheugh left his eldest son, Thomas, a bond for a £30 debt due from the heirs or executors of Charles and Robert Horsley<sup>(359)</sup>.

A list of freeholders in Northumberland in 1628 included John Horsley, gentleman of Milburn Grange<sup>(356)</sup>. John was on a jury and had cattle stolen from him that year<sup>(5)</sup>.

Between 1631 – 41 Fortune Horsley, a spinster, formerly of North Biddick, County Durham was recorded as a Catholic, not attending church<sup>(362)</sup>.

Matthew Horsley of Scranwood appointed his brother, Robert, as the executor of his will. Matthew left his wife, Jeane, their livestock 'two kine, one stirke, fowerteen ewes and three hogges'. Matthew gave each of his under age daughters, Isabella, Agnes and Margaret £10. He also left Isabella a cupboard. On 4 April 1633 Robert was granted probate. The inventory valued Matthew's goods as £37. 14s. 4d.<sup>(359)</sup>.

Between 27 March 1639 and 26 March 1640 Elizabeth Horsley, widow (the wife of Robert Horsley<sup>(128)</sup>); Jeremy Horsley (Robert's brother<sup>(128)</sup>) and two other men defended their rights and titles in court for two closes of land called 'the Cloutholmes' in the vale of Hartoft, north of Cropton, Yorkshire<sup>(363)</sup>.

A list of Northumberland freeholders made between 1638 and 1639 included Henry and Reynold Horsley, gentlemen of Milburn Grange, Castle ward; Thomas Horsley, esquire of Thislehaugh (Thristlehaugh or Thristleyhaugh, between Longhorsley and Longframlington) and Allen (Alan) Horsley, gentleman of Morwick, Morpeth ward<sup>(356)</sup>.

On 14 January 1639 John Horsley of Newham Huntlaw asked in his will to be buried at Ponteland church. He requested that his land at Newham Huntlaw was sold and the proceeds given to his five youngest children; Joseph, Catherine (who had been baptised on 28 March 1628), Dorothy, Mary and Benjamin. John mentioned his son, John (who was married to Elizabeth) and their children, George, Jane and Alice; also Anne, the daughter of his son, Edward. John appointed his sons, Henry and Thomas as his executors. John Horsley died about Candlemas 2 February<sup>(5)</sup>. His estate was valued on 14 January 1640 as £168 8s. 4d. actual total<sup>(364)</sup>. In 1642 John and his wife, Elizabeth, took Thomas and Anne Hickson and George Shafto and Margaret Shafto to court about money matters<sup>(365)</sup>.

On 20 March 1642 Henry and Reynold Horsley wrote to the House of Commons and told them that Sir John Delaval and Edward Grey were circulating a petition in Northumberland 'that might prove of bad consequence'. Parliament summoned Delaval and Grey to attend the House with the petition, whilst Captain Ogle was to find witnesses<sup>(366)</sup>. Delaval was a commissioner of array organising military forces in Northumberland for King Charles I<sup>(367)</sup>. After the death of George Horsley's widow, Katherine Grey of Longhorsley, in 1642 probate documents included deeds and papers for two annuities. They were granted to Katherine and Henry Grey by Sir Francis Brandling and charged to Brandling's Newminster estate<sup>(368)</sup>.

Henry Horsley was appointed by Parliament on 20 February 1644 as a commissioner to collect money in Northumberland to pay for Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven's Scottish Army<sup>(369)</sup>. On 21 February 1645 Henry helped collect fines from 'delinquent' Royalists in Northumberland to pay for the Scottish army<sup>(370)</sup>. Henry Horsley of Milburn Grange<sup>(371)</sup> was one of the Northumberland gentlemen appointed on 21 June to raise a regiment of 173 horsemen, 467 foot soldiers and 26 dragoons. They were to collect £1,000 each month to pay for this Parliamentarian force to help prevent 'papists and other wicked and ill - affected persons' causing trouble in northern England<sup>(372)</sup>. Henry was appointed on 29 July to help keep accounts of the money, accommodation, goods and provisions used by the Scottish army in the area since 19 January 1643<sup>(373)</sup>.

On 23 June 1647 Henry Horsley, gentleman was appointed by Parliament to help collect money in Northumberland to pay for Sir Thomas Fairfax's forces and for the 'speedy' transporting and payment of forces to fight in Ireland<sup>(374)</sup>. He helped organise Parliamentarian militia forces in Northumberland on 23 May<sup>(375)</sup> and 2 December 1648<sup>(376)</sup>.

Henry was a commissioner for Northumberland between 11 November 1648 and 10 April 1650 on the Durham and Northumberland Compounding Committee. It collected money from the tenants of estates which had been confiscated from Royalists. The money paid for a militia of men and horses<sup>(371)</sup>. The committee, including Henry, told Parliament that Northumberland had been 'invaded by the enemy' in 1648. The Royalist and Scottish army had plundered and spoiled Northumberland after their defeat at the battle of Preston, Lancashire. The committee said Northumberland suffered great loss when the enemy had command. They had taken all the money collected from the Royalists estates. Parliament agreed that the Committee could use the money they collected to repair the county's losses and they were allowed not to carry out other public engagements<sup>(371)</sup>. On 7 April 1649<sup>(377)</sup> and in December 1649<sup>(378)</sup> Henry Horsley esquire helped collect a tax to pay for maintaining Parliamentarian forces<sup>(377)</sup>.

Sir Thomas Horsley defended a court case brought by William Thompson in 1649 about property in Longhorsley<sup>(379)</sup>. He took Eleanor Bewicke and (unknown) Collingwood to court about money in 1650<sup>(380)</sup>.

Henry Horsley, treasurer wrote to the Compounding Committee from Newcastle on 13 May 1650 acknowledging that Parliament required an account of the County Committee's proceedings. Henry explained that they had not been able to meet as the other commissioners were in several parts of the county on 'engagements and other public services as justices'. He asked if he was to allow a third and a fifth of the value of the estates of recusants (Catholics) and delinquents (Royalists) to be taken and allow for repairs<sup>(371)</sup>. Henry Horsley, gentleman took an oath at Morpeth on 1 June and served as a commissioner on a ecclesiastical inquest reporting the names and salaries of church ministers to Parliament. They valued the vicarages, church land and tithe income and made recommendations about which Northumberland parishes could be united. The commissioners reported the names of delinquents and recusants who were holding church property<sup>(381)</sup>.

The Parliamentary Compounding Committee confirmed the appointment of Henry Horsley of Milburn Grange as treasurer of the new County Compounding Committee on 14 June 1650, after they received the County Committee's officers nominations. The Northumberland commissioners had told Parliament that since the beginnings of these wars they had difficulty collecting money as the county was so 'infested with the enemy'. At other times much of money had to pay for billeting the Parliamentary forces. The county would not have 'subsisted' without Parliament granting them some of the money they collected. The commissioners also recognised that many other public engagements in the county were 'yet unsatisfied'<sup>(371)</sup>. On 10 July Henry reported to the Committee from Newcastle as the other commissioners were 'employed upon the army's advance into this county'. He said they were having 'to use more moderation' when trying to collect the money owed by tenants in these 'troublesome and dangerous times'. Tenants could not get their goods sold and raise the money as the county was suffering. The commissioners were unable to collect money from the Royalists, William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle and William Widdrington. The Committee had given money to Susan Blakiston, the widow of John Blakiston who had been Member of Parliament for Northumberland. Blakiston had been a judge during the trial of King Charles and signed the King's death warrant<sup>(371)</sup>. Henry helped collect a tax to pay for maintaining Parliamentarian forces on 26 November<sup>(382)</sup>.

Henry Horsley, treasurer for Northumberland wrote to the Parliamentary Compounding Committee from Newcastle on 10 July 1651 saying they had received £4000. He asked for a bill of exchange as he could not get the money to London as the merchants wanted a 2% fee and sending it by sea was hazardous<sup>(371)</sup>. The Northumberland committee recognised that they could not give a perfect account for money collected by the former committee, but they presumed they had been faithful and honest<sup>(371)</sup>.

Scottish commissioners in Scotland were asking the Northumberland commissioners for money to pay for the two Scottish troops which were staying in Northumberland. Henry Horsley wrote from Newcastle on 5 February 1652 asking the London Committee Clerk for orders saying 'I still refuse and tell them in plain English'. Henry warned that 'If the soldiers take it from me by force I cannot help it, but I shall not part with it unless I have order'<sup>(371)</sup>. In April Henry told the Committee that he had acted as treasurer of two years and he had had to carry out most of the work as he lived in Newcastle. Two of the other commissioners were serving in Scotland and the other was too old to act. He had been employing an assistant. He asked for some allowance as his salary was very small and his charges great. Henry was granted £50 while his case was reported to the army committee<sup>(371)</sup>. Henry Horsley, esquire helped collect the tax to pay for maintaining the army and navy on 10 December<sup>(383)</sup>.

In March 1653 the new Committee for Sequestration appointed Henry Horsley sub commissioner for Northumberland because of 'his faithfulness'. Henry declined the commission because the work had been hindering his own business. He said he had long wished to be dismissed, but agreed to carry on until a successor was appointed. Following his recommendation George Fenwick was appointed in May<sup>(371)</sup>. The Committee wrote to Henry Horsley on 10 February 1654 at Newcastle appointing him as a sub commissioner to manage estates and receive rents<sup>(371)</sup>.

Thomas Horsley was renting and farming land on 6 February 1652 in Ritton (Netherwhitton, west of Longhorsley), Coltey Park and Highbrick Heades. The land had belonged to the Catholic Royalist, Henry Widdrington<sup>(371)</sup>. Thomas asked the Compounding Committee on 31 January 1653 to be able to prove his claim to two houses and 700 acres at Thernham which had been held by his ancestors for a long time. Surveyors now considered it belonged to Catholic recusant family<sup>(371)</sup>.

After attending school in Berwick, John Horsley of Milburn Grange's sixteen year old son, Benjamin Horsley entered Magdalene College, Cambridge on 10 May 1653. Benjamin graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree between 1656 and 1657<sup>(315)</sup>.

In 14 September 1653 a friend of the late William Horsley made a petition on behalf of William's young son, William Horsley. William had died leaving his widow, Elizabeth expecting a child (William). He had not yet claimed the mortgage on the lands at Upper Beckhouse, Yorkshire and a water corn mill at Cropton which his father, Robert Horsley had left him. The friend asked that the young William could claim this property, rather than his mother's second husband, Stephen Whitwell, a Catholic<sup>(384)</sup>.

Thomas Horsley had married Eleanor Calverley, the daughter of William Calverley of Calverley, Yorkshire<sup>(128)</sup>. Thomas' arms were gules, three horses' heads argent<sup>(128)</sup>. His crest was a horse's head<sup>(128)</sup>. Thomas and Eleanor's son, William<sup>(128)</sup> (or Thomas<sup>(371)</sup>), had married Rebecca, the daughter of Robert Salvin of Durham<sup>(128)</sup>. William had sisters, Mary<sup>(128)</sup> and Dorothy<sup>(128)</sup>. On 2 December 1653 Rebecca Salvin, a widowed Catholic recusant, aged about ninety, asked the Compounding Committee to order Thomas Horsley to bring all the deeds and other documents relating to her estate to the court. Thomas's widowed daughter in law, Rebecca Horsley signed the request on her grandmother, Rebecca Salvin's behalf<sup>(371)</sup>. Thomas denied having any of Rebecca Salvin's 'writings' on 23 December. The Compounding Committee ordered Thomas to attend court or be taken into custody. They granted Rebecca the right to prove the deeds were in Thomas' hands<sup>(371)</sup>.

Thomas Horsley took Dame Barbara Riddell, the widow of Royalist Thomas Riddell to court in 1653 about money matters<sup>(385)</sup>. In 1654 Thomas took Humphrey Bell and William Horsley to court about property in Lynemouth (north of Newbiggin)<sup>(386)</sup>. Thomas was in custody for not producing documents and answering questions on 16 March 1654. His legal adviser agreed that Thomas would answer and deliver the writings if they were returned to him. Thomas was released after the Committee's clerk looked at the documents and prepared a report<sup>(371)</sup>. Rebecca Salvin petitioned Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector on 19 April saying that she had been fined for recusancy since 1642 and was £3,000 in debt. She had many children and grandchildren and was in danger of losing her estate 'by the subtlety of Thomas Horsley and others pretending' to have an interest in her property. Rebecca asked for her debts to be collected<sup>(371)</sup>. On 27 June Rebecca was ordered to prove the debts owed by Cuthbert Heron and Thomas Horsley as they denied them<sup>(371)</sup>. Thomas had an order to seize the debt owed by Rebecca Salvin on 13 July<sup>(371)</sup>. The Compounding Committee told Rebecca on 17 August that they would examine Thomas' claim that the debts which were owed to her now belonged to him<sup>(371)</sup>.

Henry Horsley, a justice, married William Orde of Prudhoe castle and Elizabeth Selby of Whitehouse, county Durham in St. John's church, Newcastle in 1654<sup>(20)</sup>.

On 27 November 1656 Henry Horsley, esquire of Milburn Grange was appointed as a commissioner to help Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector keep peace and safety, including preventing people promoting and assisting the late King Charles I's Stuart family<sup>(387)</sup>. Sir Thomas Horsley and ten other people, including members of the Salvin and Collingwood family defended a court case in 1656 brought by Henry Anderson about Long Cowton manor, Yorkshire (south of Darlington)<sup>(388)</sup>. Henry Anderson was the nephew of Rebecca (nee Collingwood) Salvin<sup>(389)</sup>.

Thomas Horsley was one of the men in Northumberland appointed on 9 June 1657 to collect a tax to pay for the war against Spain<sup>(390)</sup>.

Henry Horsley, esquire of Milburn Grange made his will on 9 November 1657<sup>(391)</sup>. Henry appointed his wife, Margaret, as his executor. He left Margaret and her heirs his farm at Dalton. Margaret was to have Milburn Grange as agreed in an earlier settlement<sup>(371)</sup>. A tomb stone in the nave of St Nicholas' cathedral, Newcastle marked 'The Burial Place of Henry Horsley of Milburne Grange Esq & Margaret his Wife he Deputed the 16th of Nouem 1657 Etatis Suæ (aged) 56.' Henry's arms were three horses' heads erased for Horsley, impaling, a chevron between three cross crosslets fitchee, within a bordure. His crest was a horse's head erased<sup>(392)</sup>. John Horsley of Milburn Grange administered his late uncle, Henry Horsley of Newcastle's will<sup>(5)</sup>. Later in 1657 Henry's widow, Margaret, defended a court case brought by John Horsley about property in Milburn Grange<sup>(393)</sup>.

John Horsley and others defended a court case brought by John Robson in 1658 about property in Newham<sup>(394)</sup>. The following year John took James Simpson to court about Alwinton and Holystone rectories<sup>(395)</sup>. In 1661 John Horsley took John Bowes and his wife, Margaret; Thomas Errington; George Beadnell; John Doffenby and John Charlston to court about property in Newham and Milburn<sup>(396)</sup>. He also took John and Margaret Bowes to court about money matters<sup>(397)</sup> and this property<sup>(398)</sup> in 1662, and the property again in 1663<sup>(399)</sup>. John Horsley was assessed for the Northumberland county rate for Newham in 1663 and John Bowes was in possession of Milburn Grange, possibly with a mortgage on it. Soon afterwards both Newham and Milburn Grange were in John Horsley's name<sup>(5)</sup>.

Robert Lisle was buried at Felton, east of Longframlington on 8 June 1659<sup>(400)</sup>. He left his estate, including Felton and the coal mines, to his 'loving wife', Dorothy. Dorothy was the daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Horsley of Long Horsley. Thomas was Robert's only executor. Robert and Dorothy had had no children<sup>(4)</sup>. The two families are remembered in a poem: 'The Lisleys and Horsleys up the Coquet dwell, Not far from Thornton is a healing well, Which draws its virtue from vast seams of coal, This mineral makes us wealthy, warm and whole.'<sup>(401)</sup>

When General Monck and some of his army were marching south from Edinburgh to support the restoration of King Charles II to the English throne they stayed overnight at Sir Thomas Horsley's Longhorsley tower. Thomas, 'an honest old knight', entertained them 'very kindly and nobly' on the 3 January 1660. Horsley told them that John Lambert's Parliamentarian forces had recently been quartered on him. It is thought strange that Horsley 'did not scruple to say that he had rather that these should have prevailed' as he was a Catholic<sup>(20)</sup>. Sir Thomas had an estimated rental income of £1000 in 1660. He was one of the Northumberland gentleman proposed to receive a new order of knighthood, 'Knights of the Royal Oak'. King Charles II considered introducing this to recognise men who had supported him and his late father, but the scheme was abandoned<sup>(114)</sup>.

On 29 January 1661 William, Lord Widdrington, governor of Berwick led a muster on Rockenfield moor of 126 armed and horsed gentleman volunteers, including Sir Thomas Horsley<sup>(4)</sup>. Thomas' widowed daughter, Dorothy, married William's brother, Captain Edward Widdrington at Felton church on 23 February<sup>(4)</sup>. Thomas was assessed for the Northumberland county rate for Longhorsley, Todburn, Thistlehaugh and Scranwood on a rental of £215 a year in 1662<sup>(1)</sup>. Sir Thomas was taken to court about Stanton manor (near Netherwhitton, west of Longhorsley) by Edward and William Fenwick during 1662<sup>(402)</sup>.

The inventory made on 5 November 1662 after the death of Reynold Horsley, gentleman, of High Callerton recorded that he left goods valued at £165 2s.. His will was in the form of a deed of gift to his son, William Horsley<sup>(391)</sup>.

Richard Baker and William Horsley had been Sub Commissioners of Excise in the town and port of Newcastle. In May 1663 the Commissioners for Arrears of Excise allowed them £78 17s. 0d. for their extraordinary charges. This was towards the £301 15s. 7½d. due to them since 25 December 1660<sup>(403)</sup>.

Sir Thomas Horsley of Longhorsley was Sheriff of Northumberland in 1663. His coat of arms was gules three horses' heads silver, bridled sable<sup>(404)</sup>. Sir Thomas Horsley; his daughter, Dorothy and her husband, Edward Widdington took Elizabeth Fetherstonhaugh to court about property in Coxlodge (north of Newcastle)<sup>(405)</sup>. Thomas was rated for Thrisleyhaugh (Thristleyhaugh) at £30 and for Neatherhouse, in Brinkburn parish<sup>(4)</sup>. Thomas, George Collingwood and John Thornton had equal shares of Todburn<sup>(1)</sup>. William Horsley of High Callerton was rated for Linemouth (Lynemouth), High Callerton and 'Hole House' in Woodhorn parish<sup>(1)</sup>.

Thomas Horsley was one of the free tenant land owners who could be summoned to attend the court of the barony of Alnwick in 1664<sup>(2)</sup>. He took John Thompson, Henry Grey and Robert Turner<sup>(406)</sup> to court about property in Longhorsley<sup>(407)</sup>. Andrew Carr took Sir Thomas Horsley and others to court in 1665 about money matters<sup>(408)</sup>.

Reynold Horsley was clerk of Stannington church, west of Seaton Delaval on 12 March 1665<sup>(1)</sup> and curate of All Saints church, Newcastle, also in 1665<sup>(409)</sup>. He was appointed vicar of Stannington on 12 March 1666 and held this post until 25 September 1699<sup>(410)</sup>. John and his wife, Margaret Bowes took William Horsley, Thomas Horsley and Reynold Horsley to court in 1667 about money matters<sup>(411)</sup>.

'Benedict' Horsley, a painter stainer of York, was appointed deputy herald for Northumberland and County Durham in preparation for the herald and antiquary, William Dugdale's visitation at the end of June 1666<sup>(412)</sup>. Dugdale wrote to 'Edward' on business matters in August, September and October 1666 and June 1668<sup>(413)</sup>. Edward Horsley, heraldic painter of York died later in 1668<sup>(414)</sup>.

The inventory made on 17 March 1670 after John Horsley, gentleman of Newham, died recorded that he left goods worth £185 16s.. His widow, Elizabeth, transferred the administration of his estate and her rights to Newham Huntlaw<sup>(5)</sup> to their son, George Horsley<sup>(391)</sup>. On 22 March 1675 George Horsley of Milburn Grange married Mary Anderson, the third daughter of Ralph Anderson of South Shields, east of Newcastle<sup>(5)</sup>. George was visited by the Ponteland church wardens in 1680 for not receiving the sacrament at Easter and for non payment of church dues<sup>(5)</sup>. He took John Ogle to court in 1682 about property in Kirkley, north of Milburn<sup>(415)</sup>.

William Horsley, gentleman, of High Callerton died leaving goods valued on 20 October 1670 at £114 7s.. William's widow, Elizabeth, was his executor<sup>(391)</sup>. On 2 October 1671 William Horsley was renting school land in Callerton for £1 10s.<sup>(1)</sup>. Thomas and Reynold Horsley took Elizabeth Horsley and Francis Addison to court in 1672 about the personal estate of the deceased, William Horsley<sup>(416)</sup>. They also had a case just against Francis<sup>(417)</sup>. Thomas Horsley, gentleman, of High Callerton made his will on 16 February 1673. Thomas appointed his daughter, Dorothy Horsley and Ralph Emmerson as his executors. He asked his brother in law, John Emmerson to provide Dorothy tuition<sup>(391)</sup>.

In 1671 Joseph Horsley (possibly the son of John of Newburn Huntlaw) took Gilbert Parke and John Steventon to court about money matters<sup>(418)</sup>. Later in 1698 Gilbert Parke; Josephine Horsley; Alice Bell; Robert Lisle and his wife, Elizabeth; John Thomlinson, Robert Fenwicke and others were taken to court by Charles Horsley and his wife, Mary about property in Newcastle<sup>(419)</sup>.

A book published in 1673 listed the gentry of Northumberland, including Sir Thomas Horsley of Longhorsley<sup>(114)</sup>. On the second Sunday of August 1677 Justices of the Peace, Sir Thomas Horsley of Longhorsley and James Ogle, and their men broke into Stanton hall, Longhorsley. A Scottish Covenanter minister William Veitch had been preaching. He escaped through a secret door in the window and could not be found<sup>(420)</sup>. Thomas was a Justice of the Peace in September 1678<sup>(6)</sup> and between 1680 and 1685<sup>(114)</sup>. His daughter, Dorothy, the wife to the Honorable Captain Edward Widdrington of Felton died between twelve and one o'clock at night on 20 July 1679. She was buried at Felton at about four o'clock in the afternoon of 22 July<sup>(4)</sup>.

Reverend Father Cuthbert Thomas Horsley died, aged about eighty, at St. Laurence's priory, Dieulwart/Dieulouard, Lorraine, France on 21 December 1677. He never went on mission, but served the English Congregation of the Benedictine Order for fifty years. Horsley was Prior for nearly his last thirty years, often during difficult times of war which 'he bore like a Job with a pleasant and gay countenance'. 'God gave him such grace before the Generals and commanders of the soldiers that though not a monastery in the country was more alarmed than Dieulwart yet not one suffered less.' 'His government was eminently in the spirit of meekness'. Horsley spent any time he could spare from religious services and domestic affairs in holy meditations, which he wrote 'in a most delicate hand'<sup>(421)</sup>.

Henry Horsley, esquire was a tenant of land in South Dissington on 28 April 1680<sup>(422)</sup>. Henry Horsley, esquire and Robert Mitford, esquire made a final agreement with Robert Delaval, esquire for lands in South Dissington on 8 July 1685 for £400<sup>(423)</sup>.

Reynold Horsley, vicar of Stannington and the church wardens announced on 9 June 1680 that Cuthbert Ogle and his wife, Thomasine, were 'fanatics' and had not attended church<sup>(1)</sup>.

On 17 August 1684 George Horsley made his will and asked to be buried in his orchard at Milburn Grange. A tombstone was placed over his grave. He was described as 'a gentleman of family and fortune, who spared neither his pains, nor his purse, nor person, to serve the interest of religion among the despised non - conformists, and was a considerable sufferer'. George had paid £60 for two sermons to preached at his house in one day by John Owens and Mr. Leaver, the Nonconformist Vicar of Bolam. Owens was fined for preaching at George's and taken to Newcastle prison, where he was treated with great hardship. Owens was discharged after his friends paid money<sup>(5)</sup>. George Horsley, esquire of Millburn Grange's widow, Mary, was granted administration of his estate on 24 August 1684. Their son, Edmond<sup>(424)</sup> (or Edmund<sup>(5)</sup>) was appointed executor. George left goods valued at £574 5s. 6d.. Mary was asked to arrange the tuition of their children, John, Ralph, Edmond, Edward, Isabell and Jane<sup>(424)</sup>. George left Milburn Grange to his son, John. George's sons, Ralph, Edmund and Edward were to receive £20 each from his estate<sup>(5)</sup>. George's widowed mother, Elizabeth, made her will on 10 January 1685<sup>(424)</sup>. Elizabeth died in about 1688 and left her granddaughter, Isabella, £120 from rents from Newham<sup>(5)</sup>. On 7 December 1685 Mary, George's widow, had a licence to marry John Horsley, a gentleman of Pegsworth. Mary received £100 a year from her late husband's Milburn Grange estate<sup>(5)</sup>.

Edward Widdrington was granted administration of his grandfather, Sir Thomas Horsley of Horsley's will on 12 March 1685<sup>(424)</sup>. Thomas had been living at Brinkburn when he made his will<sup>(20)</sup>. Edward's widowed father and Thomas' son in law, Captain Honourable Edward Widdrington was killed fighting for the deposed Catholic King James II of England at the battle of Boyne in Ireland on 1 July 1690<sup>(4)</sup>. Edward had to defend a court case brought by William Metcalfe in 1694 about his grandfather Thomas' estate<sup>(425)</sup>.

Edward's son, Edward Horsley Widdrington, a Roman Catholic was living at Longhorsley on 3 September 1717<sup>(4)</sup>.

## Appendix

### Horsley clergymen and Horsley Curties, author and Yeoman of the Guard

The following Horsleys are said to be descended from Sir 'William' Horsley 'of Horsley, Northumberland'<sup>(426)</sup> and nearly related to Bishop Samuel Horsley<sup>(427)</sup>.

On 7 July 1720 Seventeen year old Thomas Horsley was admitted to Gonville and Caius college, Cambridge under Mr Selth. Thomas's father, Thomas<sup>(428)</sup>, was a packer in London and had sent his son to a private school in London under Mr Forster. Thomas then studied for three years at Gresham's school in Holt, Norfolk under Reverend David Duncombe MA<sup>(429)</sup>. After graduating from Cambridge on Lady Day March 1724 Thomas was admitted as a deacon and was ordained on 25 September 1726 at Norwich cathedral, Norfolk. The next day he was appointed curate of Thornage on 25 September 1726<sup>(430)</sup>. Thomas was ordained as a priest at Norwich on 20 September 1730<sup>(431)</sup>.

Philip Astley, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet of Hill Morton, of Melton Constable hall, Norfolk appointed Thomas Horsley rector of Melton Constable church<sup>(432)</sup> on 9 September 1734<sup>(431)</sup>.

Thomas' wife, Ann, died on 22 November 1737. Ann's memorial tablet in the south porch of Edgefield old church, which has been resited in the new church, says she had suffered acute rheumatic disease pains for seven years, with the greatest painstaking patience<sup>(433)</sup>. Thomas married Ann Wells in 1738<sup>(434)</sup>. Ann's father, Robert Wells, gave her the manors of Beeston Regis and Beeston priory<sup>(435)</sup>. On 25 September 1740 Jacob Astley, 3rd Baronet (Philip's son) appointed Thomas vicar of nearby Barney<sup>(432)</sup>, after a union was formed with the rectory of Melton Constable and Burgh Parva. Thomas however resigned as vicar of Barney on 2 December 1743, following his appointment as rector of Bintree<sup>(431)</sup>.

Thomas and his first wife, Ann's son, Isaac Horsley, had been born about 1727 in Saxthorpe, Norfolk. Isaac was tutored by John Holmes<sup>(436)</sup> at Gresham's school for eight years<sup>(430)</sup>.

Isaac entered Gonville and Caius college, Cambridge on 3 July 1745 when he was eighteen. He was ordained as deacon at Ely cathedral, Cambridgeshire on 21 December 1748. Isaac married Priscilla Bartram<sup>(437)</sup> on 18 February 1850 in Swafield, Norfolk. Their marriage record says he was the clerk. Isaac was ordained as a priest at Norwich cathedral on 23 September 1750 and appointed vicar of Briston the following day. He was also licensed as curate of Gimingham on 20 April 1751<sup>(438)</sup>.

Isaac's father, Thomas, Rector of Melton Constable, Burgh Parva and Bintree, was appointed curate of Briston on 4 March 1753<sup>(431)</sup>. Fourty seven year old Thomas died the following year on 25 August 1754 and was buried in the chancel of Edgefield old church. The widow of Thomas Horsley, the former rector of Bintree, was admitted to a charity for poor widows of clergymen. On 24 June 1757 Thomas' widow received £6 and on 1st December £8 10s.<sup>(439)</sup>. This is probably Ann (Wells) Horsley who in 1768 conveyed the manors of Beeston Regis and Beeston priory to Edmund Cremer<sup>(435)</sup>. Their daughter, Ann, died in 1793 and her husband, John Curties (Curteis), erected a memorial, which is now resited in the new Edgefield church. The memorial includes the Horsley coat of arms of gules (red), three horses' heads erased argent (silver), bridled and a crest of a horse's head couped<sup>(433)</sup>.

On 22 October 1754 Isaac Horsley was appointed rector of Antingham after a personal union was formed enabling him to continue as vicar of Briston. Between 1754 and 1755 Isaac was the clerk of Wiverton and a defendant in a court case involving the Attorney General and a number of the yeoman inhabitants<sup>(440) and (441)</sup>. Isaac was also appointed curate of Worstead on 12 November 1763<sup>(438)</sup>. Isaac married Margaret Howse<sup>(442)</sup>, the sister of John Howse, attorney at law in North Walsham on 7 April 1779<sup>(443)</sup>. After John's death in July 1785 Margaret, 'wife of the Revd Mr Isiah Horsley of North Walsham', arranged for a memorial to be placed in Ludham church, where their parents and five siblings were buried<sup>(444)</sup>. In 1791 Isaac took on William Scott, a poor child of North Walsham, as an Apprentice<sup>(445)</sup>.

In February 1801 two thieves with blackened faces, brandishing pistols and bayonets, broke into Rev. Isaac Horsley and his wife's North Walsham home. They tied up the victims, but fled when the Rev. Horsley freed himself and escaped for assistance. The thieves went to King's Lynn and sold the gold watch they had stolen. They were identified as twenty three year old, John Allen and twenty six year old, John Day. Day enlisted in the Artillery. On 27 February Allen robbed the two Miss Pym's of Swaffham. He was pursued and fired a pistol which wounded one of his captors, although the pistol was only charged with powder. Day was captured at Wisbech, Cambridgeshire. They were tried, condemned to death and executed at Thetford on April 4<sup>th</sup><sup>(446)</sup>. Isaac Horsley, vicar of Briston and rector of Antingham St Mary, died on 29 April 1803. He was buried in a vault in Swafield church with his late first wife, Priscilla, and their daughter, Amey<sup>(447)</sup>. His widow, Margaret, died on 28 September 1807 and was buried in Ludham church<sup>(444)</sup>.

Between 1799 and 1807 John and Ann Horsley Curties' son, Thomas Isaac Horsley Curties (Curteis)<sup>(448)</sup>, wrote at least six lengthy, multi volume Gothic romances under the name of T. J. (not I') Horsley Curties. William Lane's Minerva Press published his first books; 'Ethelwina - The House of Fitz-Auburne (3 volumes; 1799) and 'Ancient Records - The Abbey of St. Oswythe' (4 volumes; 1801). Thomas said, in the preface to 'Ancient Records', that he had deliberately not used his surname for his first publication 'Ethelwina'. He had used his name Horsley as he was nervously putting his text 'into the world as an orphan, whose father feared to acknowledge it'. Thomas set 'The Scottish Legend - The Isle of St. Clothair' (William Lane; 4 volumes; 1802) and 'The Watch Tower - The Sons of Ulthona' (P. Norbury; 5 volumes; 1804) in Scotland<sup>(449)</sup>. 'The Watch Tower is dedicated to a literary patron, C. H. Elcock Brown, Esq, of North Walsham, Norfolk<sup>(449)</sup>. Edward Henry Elcock Brown<sup>(450)</sup> had married Elizabeth Horsley<sup>(451)</sup> in North Walsham, Norfolk in 1802. Like many other popular romances published by J. F. Hughes, Horsley's 1806 five volume novel, 'St. Botolph's Priory - The Sable Mask', and his final novel, 'The Monk of Uadolpho - A Romance', published a year later, were about Catholic hypocrisy and deception. Most of Thomas' books were translated into French<sup>(449)</sup>.

Thomas Isaac Horsley Curties was appointed as one of four Exon, the junior rank of King George III's royal bodyguards, the Yeoman of Guards, on 31 May 1805. Thomas was living at Vale Place, Hammersmith Road, London in October 1805. After January 1820 he served King George IV and attended his coronation on 19 July 1821. At the coronation of King William IV on 8 September 1831 Thomas was reappointed Yeoman of the Guard and knighted. Sir Thomas became a senior Exon on 27 June 1833. During Queen Adelaide's State Ball on Monday 12 May 1834 he commanded the Yeoman of Guard on duty in the Guard Room and corridors of St. James Palace, London. Sir Thomas was one of the Exons present at the formal Queen's Levee reception celebrating King William IV's birthday on Friday 29 May 1835. He attended Queen Victoria's coronation on 28 June 1838 and a formal reception held by her on Thursday 19 July 1838. Sir Thomas accompanied the young Queen to see Balfe's opera, 'The Maid of Artois', at Drury Lane theatre, London on Wednesday 30 January 1839. Later that year Sir Thomas Horsley Curties retired to his home county of Norfolk, aged about 62, and worked as an ostler. On 11 December 1846 Thomas Curties<sup>(452)</sup>, a Yeoman of Thorneage, near Melton Constable, Norfolk left his nephew, Sir Thomas Ostler/Curties of Righburgh (probably Ryburgh), Norfolk two windsor chairs<sup>(449)</sup>.

Sir Thomas Isaac Horsley Curties died on 26 December 1858, aged 81, at his home, Twyford Villa, Twyford, Norfolk. He was buried in the nearby churchyard. The Edinburgh based Caledonian Mercury of Saturday 8 January 1859 described him as a 'Gothic romancer and long standing official in the Hanoverian Court'<sup>(453)</sup>. The beneficiaries of Thomas' will were Emily Curteis Rogers<sup>(454)</sup>, the daughter of Reverend Randle Jackson Waters, DD, Master of Emanuel Hospital, Westminster, London<sup>(455)</sup> and her husband, Francis Slaughter Rogers<sup>(456)</sup>, General Practitioner<sup>(457)</sup>.

Researched by Louisa West, 2023

Dedicated to  
David Robert Horsley and Monica Sykes  
and other Horsley family wondering 'about those castles'.

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